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FREE THOUGHTS
UPON THE
BRUTE-CREATION:
OR, AN
EXAMINATION
OF

Father *BOUGEANT*'s
Philosophical Amusement, &c.

In Two LETTERS to a LADY.

Job xii. 7, 8, 9, 10. *But ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee; and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee.*

Or speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee; and the fishes of the sea shall declare unto thee.

Who knoweth not in all these, that the hand of the Lord hath wrought this?

In whose hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath (spirit) of all mankind.

By *JOHN HILDROP*, M. A.
Rector of *Wath*, near *Rippon* in *Yorkshire*:
And Chaplain to the Right Honourable *Charles*
Earl of Ailesbury and Elgin.

L O N D O N:

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THE
THOUGHTS
OF
A
MILITARY

1942

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions in the various departments of the Government of the State of New York, for the year 1900.

1941



FREE THOUGHTS
UPON THE
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AN EXAMINATION of Father
*BOUGEANT's Philosophical
Amusement, &c.*

MADAM,

I DARE say you have made many a merry Reflection upon the good Company and Conversation we lately enjoyed at *B—ton*: for my own part, I can never think of it without laughing. Methinks I hear my little Doctor pouring forth all his Rhetoric and Logic upon an abstruse Question, which I was sure he had not Capacity enough to understand. I see, and hear, and admire his modest Assurance, incapable of Contradiction, affirming without Proof, and concluding without Premises, that *all the Animal Functions and Operations*

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of the *Brute-Creation* (which different Philosophers had ascribed to different Causes, such as Mechanism, Instinct, Substantial Forms, &c.) were entirely owing to the Operation of evil Spirits, who are the moving Principle in every one of them. As this Thought was quite new to me, and perfectly opposite to all the Sentiments I had ever entertained upon that Question, I could not for my life imagine, where he had pick'd up this new Philosophy, which had almost frightened some of the Company out of their Senses.—I shall never forget the puzzled afflicted Face of the honest Justice, who, tho' a very good Protestant, and in all other respects of blameless Life and Conversation, had spent so many Years in following a *Pack of Devils*, which he had innocently mistaken for a Pack of harmless Beagles.—But the whimsical Distresses of the poor Ladies, gave me no small Diversion. Sweet Miss *Jenny*, who has lavish'd away more Kisses upon her favourite Cat, than she would bestow upon the best Man in the Parish, felt some compunction within herself, that she had been wantonly, and almost maliciously, throwing away those Caresses upon an evil Spirit, which many a good Christian would have been glad of. Dear Miss *Harriot* had the same regret for her beloved Monkey, and poor *Dolly* for her Parrot; and resolved, one-and-all, never to hold commerce or correspondence with evil Spirits for the future, in whatever amiable Shape or Figure they might appear; which, I apprehended, could end in nothing less

less than an intire destruction of all the favourite Domesticks of the Family ; whilst you, with a chearful compofure of Mind and Countenance, inseparable from good Nature and good Sense, sat smiling at the empty Harangue of the Orator, and the fantastical Sufferings of the Audience.

Well ! home I went, full of this absurd, unphilosophical Scheme, wondering how my learned Friend, who, with very moderate Talents, affects to be thought a very great Scholar, and profound Philosopher, could ever fall into this uncommon way of thinking. But as I chanced a few days after to strole into a Bookseller's Shop, I spyed a little Pamphlet lying upon the Counter, entitled, *A Philosophical Amusement, concerning the Language of Birds and Beasts. Written originally in French by Father Bougeant, a learned Jesuit, &c.* I quickly perceived where my learned Friend had pick'd up his new Philosophy, from what Fountain all this profound Erudition was drawn. The honest Man has a very preposterous Ambition to be famous ; and as he is conscious that he has no chance to attain any degree of Distinction from the proper and regular use of his intellectual Faculties, he therefore attempts a nearer cut to Fame, by engaging the Attention of the Unlearned to something that has a new and marvellous Appearance : This has given him an itch after Novelty, and an affection for un common Notions, more than common Sense. No wonder, therefore, he was immediately struck

with this surprizing Sentiment, which he resolved to put off at the next Tea-table for his own, assuring himself, that neither the Ladies, nor myself, (whose Obscurity he heartily despises) should ever find him out, but admire him for a most profound Philosopher. I took my Pamphlet home with me, and read it over and over, with the greatest Care and Candour ; and upon the whole must needs say, that I should never have suspected the Author (if he had not told us so himself) to be a *Jesuit*, much less a *Famous Jesuit*. He has done no credit to his Order ; the Gentlemen of that Society owe him but little Thanks ; they generally acquit themselves much better upon any Subject they undertake. He has treated a noble Subject loosely and superficially, to say no worse ; for I might add, idly and profanely ; and had I been his proper Superiour, I should have changed his Confinement at *La Fleche*, for a more proper Habitation at *Moorfields*.

But this (say you) is libelling without Proof, condemning at random : Let us come to Particulars ; make good your Charge, shew us, if you can, the Defects of his Scheme, and try if you can strike us out a better.

With all my heart, Madam. But before I proceed to a more particular Examination of his Scheme, I must freely acknowledge, that there are a great many just and sprightly things scattered up and down through his whole Performance ; but favouring more of the vivacity of the *Frenchman*, than the piety and solidity of a Christian

stian Philosopher. He justly and smartly ridicules the unintelligible trumpery of Mechanism, Instinct, Substantial Forms, and what not of the *Aristotelian* and *Cartesian* Philosophy, which, like occult qualities, are hard Words without a Meaning, intended only as a thin disguise for Ignorance and Affectation : But what has he advanced in the room of them ? Why, something equally absurd, but not equally innocent ; something shocking to a Philosopher, and offensive to a Christian, in direct contradiction to Reason and Revelation, as I shall endeavour to make appear. Nor is he less offensive in point of Delicacy, his Ideas and Sentiments are often so low, his Images so indecent, his Expressions so coarse, as could hardly be expected from a polite *Frenchman*, and an Ecclesiastic to a fine Lady, whom, at the same time, he seems to consider as a Person of Discernment and Distinction. Let us now follow him his own way. His first Chapter is

Of the Understanding of Brutes.

He begins with this Question ; *Have Brutes any Understanding ? I am convinced* (says he) *that you will not so much as hesitate upon this Question :* barely presuming she would answer in the Affirmative, and as I dare venture to affirm that his fair Correspondent had not a better Understanding than mine, I will venture to presume the same for you. *An Understanding* they certainly have of such a kind or degree, at least as is sufficient for their state and rank in the
universal

universal System, and the several duties and offices for which they were intended by their Creator. Less than this I think cannot be said, and who presumes to say more ? Though I have known many an honest Fellow that made a good figure in his Neighbourhood, who yet has hardly discovered more Reason, a better Understanding, or half so much Virtue as the Beast he rode on. Take any Man of a plain, natural good Understanding without the prejudices of Philosophy, and propose the same Question to him : I dare say he would stare at you, and think you were bantering him ; or if he thought you were in earnest, he would not so much as demur upon it. In short, however we may affect to puzzle ourselves or others with learned Objections proceeding from downright Ignorance, we all own it, we presume upon it, as a first Principle, we reason upon it, and act agreeably, as we make it an unerring Rule to direct us in the Treatment and Management of our domestick Animals ; this it is that guides us in the education of our Dogs and Horses, to train them up by Correction and Discipline to the several Offices for which they are intended, and the Services which we expect to receive from them. This it is that directs us to caress and reward them when they do well, and to correct and punish them, when they are vicious and disobedient. Did we consider them as meer Machines, as Creatures that had no Sense, Understanding, or Reflection ; this Conduct would be as absurd and ridiculous, as it would be to
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carefs and reward your Clock or your Watch for going well, or correct and punish them with a Whip or Cudgel for going wrong. On the other hand, we discover in Brutes plain and evident marks of Sense and Understanding. They are sensible what we do to them, and what they do to us. When for instance I see a Dog hastening to me when I call him, carefs me when I stroke him, tremble when I rate him, run away from me when I beat him : nay, further, when I see him reflecting and reasoning upon my Conduct towards him, I must conclude he is acted by some higher Principle than meer Mechanism. Be pleased, Madam, to try this Experiment with your beloved *Veny*, (though upon second Thoughts he has been too much and too long a Favourite to apprehend any danger from your Hands,) or call any other Dog of the Family, whose Hunger may make him leap at a good Morfel, shew him a Piece of Meat in your Left Hand, and hide your Right Hand behind you, and see how he will behave ; especially, if he knows he has been guilty of a Fault, or been rated or punished for some Misdemeanour. He will either not come near you at all, unless urged by the violence of his Hunger, or approach you with the utmost Diffidence and Caution : for thus I hear him reasoning with himself ; *Surely, this is not the Hand that used to feed me, and why is that other Hand hid from me ? That Hand, from which I have received many a sore Stripe, when I have offended, has now, I fear, some secret Vengeance, some Whip, or*

Cudgel

Cudgel in store for me, if I get within the reach of it ; I will therefore prefer the Dog's Portion of Hunger and Ease, before Lashes and Stripes, and broken Bones. Ay! and he is much in the right, he reasons well, and discovers more Sense and better Logic than many a stupid Puppy with two Legs, who lives at random, who pursues every appearance of Pleasure, gratifies every Appetite, submits to every demand of Lust or Fancy, without Thought or Reflection, and rushes with his Eyes open into certain Diseases, Beggary and Damnation. Now then if the Senses and Perceptions of Brutes be so quick and lively, if from those Perceptions they never fail to draw just and rational Conclusions, and to make a practical Use of them for the preventing Pain, or procuring Pleasure, if by the different Motions and Gestures of their Bodies, or Sound of their Voice, they express their different Sentiments of Joy and Sadness, of Pain or Pleasure, of Fear and Desire, of Love or Hatred ; I cannot help concluding from thence, that they have in them some Principle of Knowledge and Sentiment, be it what it will. Now, were all the Philosophers in the world to assert and maintain the *Cartesian* Opinion of their being Machines, there is some strong inward Conviction in every sensible unprejudiced Mind that gives them the lye, tho' we were not able to confute their Assertion, nor defend our own ; and surely nothing but the Vanity of a *Frenchman* could ever expect that so absurd a Scheme could pass upon a learned World for sound Reason and true Philosophy.

For my own part, I could as soon expect to see Gallantries between a couple of amorous Clocks or Watches, or a Battle betwixt two quarrelsome Windmills.

The Notion of *Instinct*, though not so palpably absurd, is equally obscure, unnecessary, and useless for all the great ends and purposes which it is intended to serve. They who use it, do not pretend to define it, to shew us its real Nature, or wherein it consists, they seem only to speak of it as a blind Impetus, and unknown Impulse; a kind of Mechanical Necessity, by which we are in a manner compelled to perform such and such Actions, without being able to know or explain the Reasons for so doing. By this, they pretend to account for many wonderful Operations and Effects in the almost infinite Variety of Species through the Brute-Creation, such as, for instance, all sorts of Birds building their Nests in exact uniformity of Model and with the same Materials, all the various Methods of Cure that both Birds and Beasts have recourse to when they are any ways indisposed or wounded; this it is, they say, that teaches the Sparrows to purge themselves with Spiders and other Insects; this teaches Birds to swallow Gravel to facilitate their Digestion; this teaches the Dog with a surfeited Stomach to run to a particular kind of Grass to procure a Vomit; to this we owe all the excellent and wonderful Operations to be found among Beasts and Birds, Reptiles and Insects; many of which seem to exceed the

highest Improvements of human Reason and Invention. But why must all this be owing to Instinct? Since we cannot refuse them a knowing Faculty, why should we give them a needless Instinct? These wonderful Operations may be, for ought we know, the simple Effects of their Understanding : and since it is solely in consequence of a knowing Faculty, that Man performs the same Operations, why should not the same Principle also rule in the Brutes? And where would be the Heresy of believing or affirming, that those Actions which Brutes are supposed to perform by meer Instinct, are performed in consequence of their Understandings, with Understanding and Reason? Is such a thing impossible? Does either Reason or Revelation forbid it? Are they not equally possible to their Omnipotent Creator? And can any reasonable Doubt be made, whether they were not endued with every Perfection that their Rank in the Scale of Beings required? And would it not be a great Imperfection to want the means of knowing and procuring whatever was requisite in the common Order of Nature, for the Preservation of the Individuals and the Propagation of the Species? And since it cannot be denied that every Species of Beings have that power, I see nothing absurd or unphilosophical in supposing, that the All-wise and Omnipotent Author of Nature has given each of them such Faculties as are proportionable to their Wants and Capacities, and the part they fill in the universal System. Is there either Absurdity or Heresy in supposing, that the same

same infinite Power that could form the Body of the most minute Insect, with such exquisite Proportion and Beauty, could at the same time, with the same ease, provide a proper Inhabitant to animate and govern it, and answer all the purposes of its Creation? He that can think otherwise, must have been either a very ignorant or a very indolent Observer of Nature. The Scriptures directly call this Knowledge by the name of *Wisdom*, Prov. xxx. 24. *There be four Things that are little upon Earth, but they are exceeding wise. The Ants are a People not strong, yet they prepare their Meat in the Summer. The Conies are but a feeble Folk, yet they make their Houses in the Rocks. The Locusts have no King, yet go they forth all of them by Bands. The Spider taketh hold with her Hands, and is in King's Palaces.* Holy Job supposes the same thing, that the whole Brute-Creation act by Wisdom and Understanding, of such a Kind and Degree as is proper for their State and Condition in the Scale of Beings. Thus Ch. xxxix. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. speaking of the *Ostrich*, he observes, that *she leaves her Eggs in the Earth, and warms them in the Dust, and forgets that the Foot may crush them, or that the wild Beast may break them. She is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not hers, her labour is in vain without fear, because God hath deprived her of Wisdom, neither hath he imparted to her Understanding.* The Fact is asserted by all Travellers, that the *Ostrich* leaves her Eggs in the Sand to be hatch'd by

the Sun, which unnatural disregard for her Offspring is so remarkable, that when they see a Mother who has little Tenderness for her Children, they compare her to an Ostrich; to which the Prophet *Jeremiah* alludes in his Book of *Lamentations*, ch. iv. 3. *The Daughter of my People is become cruel, like the Ostriches in the Wilderness.* In short, the Ostrich is allowed, on all hands, to be a very stupid foolish Bird, destitute of that Prudence and Caution which are visible in every other Family of Insects, Birds, and Beasts; for it is particularly observed in her, that when she is pursued by the Hunters, she runs to hide her Head, and particularly her Eyes behind a Tree, all the rest of her large Body is exposed to view; but as she no longer sees the Hunter, she wisely imagines he does not see her, and that therefore she has no danger to apprehend. Now this whole absurd and ridiculous Conduct, the inspired Writer ascribes to her want of that *Wisdom*, *Understanding* and *common Sense*, which are to be found in every other Species of Beings, for the Production and Preservation of their several Families. *Because God hath deprived her of Wisdom, neither hath he imparted to her Understanding*, v. 17. Were we now to extend our Enquiries to the Polity, Architecture, and Oeconomy of Bees and Wasps, and all the other Tribes and Families of Insects, we should find them in many respects excellent Monitors to the Bulk of Mankind.

“ * The Beehive, for instance, is a School to
 “ which

* Spectacle de la Nature, *Dial.* 7. p. 135.

“ which numbers of People ought to be sent.
 “ Prudence, Industry, and Benevolence, pub-
 “ lick Spirit, and Diligence, Oeconomy, Neat-
 “ ness, and Temperance, are not only practised
 “ by them in the most exemplary manner, but
 “ strongly recommended to us by their Ex-
 “ ample. Look on a Swarm of Bees, and ob-
 “ serve the Disposition that influences every In-
 “ dividual ; they all labour for the general Ad-
 “ vantage ; they are all submissive to the Laws
 “ and Regulations of the Community ; there
 “ is no particular Interest, and consequently
 “ no Emulations nor Competitions for Gain or
 “ Glory ; no Distinctions, but those which Na-
 “ ture and the Necessities of the Family have
 “ introduced among them. We never see them
 “ dissatisfied with their Condition, or inclinable
 “ to abandon the Hive, in Disgust to find them-
 “ selves Slaves or Necessitous. On the contrary,
 “ they think themselves in perfect Freedom,
 “ and perfect Affluence, as indeed they are :
 “ they are free, because they depend only upon
 “ the Laws ; they are happy, because the Con-
 “ course of their several Labours inevitably pro-
 “ duce an Abundance, that constitutes the Riches
 “ of each Individual. Let us compare Human
 “ Societies with this, and they will appear al-
 “ together monstrous. Necessity, Reason, and
 “ Philosophy, have established them under the
 “ commendable Pretence of mutual Aids and
 “ Benefits ; but a Spirit of Selfishness destroys
 “ all ; and one half of Mankind, to load them-
 “ selves with Superfluities, leave the other half

“ destitute of the common Necessaries of Life.” In short, upon the strictest and closest Enquiry we can make into the several Tribes of Families of the Brute-Creation, it will appear, that they are all directed and act by some Principle analogous at least, and equivalent to what we call Understanding in ourselves ; and why we should call it by any other Name in them, I confess I am at a loss to determine. If then the several Species of Brutes do by the Strength of their own Understandings, think, reason, project, contrive, and perform every Office within their proper Sphere of Life and Action in a just and due proportion to what we do in ours, they must be allowed to have some immaterial Principle within them, in which these Faculties are inherent, and by which they are directed. Now, to my poor Apprehension, Understanding without a Soul, and a Soul that is not a Spirit, appears quite as absurd as Light without Flame, or Flame without Fire ; the one I think naturally supposes and includes the other.

The Great Mr. Locke, in his Essay on Human Understanding, lib. 2. cap. 11. allows that Brutes have Ideas, and that they reason, tho’ they are not capable of comparing and comprehending these Ideas, and reasoning abstractedly, as we do. Yet (says he) if they have any Ideas at all, and are not mere Machines, as some would have them, we can’t deny them to have some Reason. It seems to me as evident, that they do in some instances reason, as that they have Sense ; but it is only in particular

ticular Ideas, just as they received them from their Senses.—Just as they received them from their Senses!—Why, how should it be else? What is the Foundation of our Reason, but those particular Ideas we receive from our Senses? Ideas are Images, excited or impressed upon the Soul by external Objects, thro' the Mediation of the Senses; and the enlarging, comparing, and combining these Ideas, and forming practical Conclusions from them, is the whole Province of Human Reason. This philosophical Limitation of the Understanding of Brutes, sounds a little awkwardly from this great Man, because he has allowed the most exalted Human Understanding no better Materials to work upon. He has very justly exploded the Notion of innate Ideas, and has by consequence left us nothing but those which we receive by Sensation, to be the Ground-work of our most refined Speculations. Why then will he not allow the same uniform Effect to be produced by the same uniform Cause in both? Why does he take so much pains to persuade himself and us, that Rationality in Brutes must proceed from a quite different Cause, from what it does in ourselves? What is he afraid of? What would be the terrible Consequences of such a Concession? For my own part, I think I see none, but what your own excellent Understanding will, with a little Recollection, easily evade, without the least violence either to Reason or Revelation. He concedes, indeed, to the main Point, and allows the Rationality of Brutes ;

Brutes ; but, for fear of allowing them immaterial, and consequently immortal Souls, he frequently insinuates, that Thought, Rationality, or Reflection, is not the absolute Privilege of immaterial Beings, but may be communicated by the Power of God to certain Portions of Matter, differently modified, and consequently that Matter exalted to a certain degree of Purity, may be as capable of Reason and Reflection, as an immaterial Spirit. And in his Dispute with the Bishop of *Worcester*, who justly charged him with this unphilosophical Notion, he was reduced to a necessity of asserting it in plain and express Terms, and of putting all his Philosophy to the utmost stretch, to reconcile it to Reason and common Sense ; which, I humbly conceive, is absolutely impossible. Yet he frequently and directly asserts the Possibility of Thinking Matter, allowing to his material Animal Sense, Perception, Reason, spontaneous Motion or Volition, which, one would imagine, that nothing but Vanity, an Itch of Singularity, or a Desire of Victory, could ever have extorted from so great and excellent a Person : and I cannot pass it by without some little Examination, for which I shall offer at no Apology to a Lady of your inquisitive Genius, and superior Understanding, directed solely by Reason and the Nature of Things, without the Prejudices of vulgar Errors, or the Subtilties of Philosophy, falsely so called.

The most obvious Idea we have of Matter, is of an extended impenetrable, solid Substance, incapable of moving itself, or of being moved, but
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by the Agency and Impression of some superior, external, active Cause; from whence it will unavoidably follow, that mere Matter, however modified, exalted, or purified, will be as incapable of Self-motion, as it was in its lowest state of Density, or Depression; and consequently cannot, by any Power, be transmuted, or sublimated into a living, self-moving Substance; from whence it follows, that all Gravity, Attraction, Elasticity, Repulsion, and whatever Tendencies to Motion are observed in Matter, and commonly called natural Powers of Matter, are not Powers implanted in Matter, or possible to be made inherent in it; but are intirely owing to some Impulse, or Force impressed upon it from external Causes. And the most that can be said, is, that Matter is indeed susceptible of Motion, or capable of being moved, but that the Motion itself must proceed from some external Cause, totally distinct from, and superior to Matter. Mr. *Locke*, therefore, had very little Reason to be so peremptory in his Dispute with the Bishop of *Worcester*, about the Possibility of Thinking Matter; where, to prove it possible, he says, Vol. 2. p. 144. Edit. 1715. for example, God creates an extended solid Substance, without superadding any thing else to it, and so we may consider it at rest; to some parts of it he superadds Motion, but it has still the Essence of Matter. Other parts of it he forms into Plants, with all the Excellencies of Vegetation, Life, and Beauty, which is to be found in a Rose or a Peach-tree, above the Essence of Matter in general, but it is

*still but Matter: To other parts he adds Sense, or spontaneous Motion, and those other Properties that are to be found in an Elephant. Hitherto it is not doubted but the Power of God may go; but if we venture to go one Step further, and say, God may give to Matter Thought, Reason, and Volition, as well as Sense and spontaneous Motion, there are Men ready to limit the Power of the Omnipotent Creator, and tell us he cannot do it; because it destroys the Essence, or changes the essential Properties of Matter, &c. Well! and a very good Reason it would certainly be; for Omnipotence itself cannot produce Impossibilities, cannot effect Contradictions, cannot make the same Thing to be, and not to be, at the same time; cannot make a Substance, which, as solidly extended, must resist all Change of State, become (while it continues unactive and dead) Life, Sense, and spontaneous Motion; for that is directly affirming, that the same Portion of Matter, which is unactive, dull, and dead, may be at the same time living, sensible, and spontaneously moving. To say the truth, his Zeal to support his Argument, and confound his Adversary, has thrown him into such Inconsistencies of Thought and Expression, as could never have proceeded from cool and sober Reason. For Instance, where he says above, *To some parts of Matter, God superadds Motion, but it has still the Essence of Matter.* What does he mean by saying, *It has still the Essence of Matter?* Does he mean, that Motion has the Essence of Matter, or is essential to it, or a Mode of*

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of it : Neither of these could be his Meaning ; he could only mean, that that Portion of Matter to which Motion is superadded, has still the Essence of Matter. Who doubts it ? And therefore is intirely distinct from the Motion superadded, which is really and truly nothing less than an Emanation or Impression from the Original and Eternal Fountain of Life and Power ; and, consequently, intirely distinct from Matter. If Solidity, Inactivity, and Resistance, be the essential Properties of Matter, it will unavoidably follow, that all those Effects commonly ascribed to certain natural Powers residing in Matter, are immediately produced by the Power of an immaterial Being, who first created this dead Substance Matter, originally impressed, and still continues to impress Motion upon it. Now whatsoever begins Motion where it was not, and stops it where it was, that effects a Change from Rest to Motion, and from Motion to Rest, and that arbitrarily, can never be Matter, whose essential Property it is necessarily to resist all change of its State, either of Rest or Motion. I therefore conclude, that whatever Principle or Being can arbitrarily effect a Change of the present State of Rest or Motion, in that Portion of Matter which composes the Body of any Animal, cannot be the Matter of the Body itself, which necessarily resists or opposes all change of its present State, and therefore must be concluded to be an active, immaterial, and spiritual Substance, which, without any violence to Philosophy, we may venture to call a Soul. Pardon

me, Madam, for leading you into this intricate dry Speculation; my Subject led me into it, and requir'd some little Examination in this place. Some further Considerations upon this Subject, and the Reverend Father's devilish Contrivance to account for all animal Functions and Operations, without allowing them to have Souls, we shall defer to a more proper Place, and proceed to the next Head of Inquiry.

II. *Of the Necessity of a Language between Brutes.*

By Language we are not only to understand a Sequel of articulate Sounds, by which Men have agreed to express their Ideas and Sentiments to each other, but any sort or kind of inarticulate Sounds, Gestures, or Motions, by which, in the several Tribes and Families of the Brute-Creation, the Individuals communicate their Sentiments, their Wants, their Desires to each other; and these are, no doubt, as different as the Species themselves, and as expressive and significant to them as our most articulate Sounds can be to us. Of this there can be no manner of doubt, especially among those that live in society, as particularly Pigeons, Rooks, Swallows, and Storks among Birds; Bees and Ants among Insects; and particularly the Beavers among Beasts; and no doubt but there must be the same among Fishes, those especially which at certain Seasons remove in Shoals to different parts of their Element. All, and each of these, speak;

Speak, undoubtedly, a Language proper and peculiar to their Species, which are as expressive and intelligible to them, as our Language is to us; and may, not improperly, be called the different Dialects of the Language of Nature.

Our Author, in the midst of this Inquiry, has dropp'd an Expression which I cannot understand, as having no apparent relation to his Subject, or any Connection with what goes before, or follows after. *Page 27*, He says, *Angels speak to each other, yet have no Voice*. How bold, how crude, how unphilosophical is this Expression? Have Angels a Voice to speak to us, and none to speak to one another? Did he never read of the Conversation of Angels with the Patriarchs and Holy Men of the *Old Testament*? Of the Angel *Gabriel* delivering a Message from God to *Zacharias*, concerning the Birth of *John* the Baptist, *Luke* i. and another to the Blessed Virgin, concerning the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ? Did he never read of *the Voice of the Archangel*, *1 Thess. iv. 16*? If he only means, that they have not a Voice like us, articulated by the Organs of the Human Body, and different Modulations of the Air; who disputes it? But is this sufficient to justify him in saying they have no Voice? Does he allow a Voice, or something equivalent to it, to the lowest Orders of Brutes and Insects, and will he allow none to the highest Orders of intellectual Beings? How surprizing, how unaccountable is this? Surely he had as mean an Opinion of the good Sense of
the

the fine Lady to whom he was writing, as he had a good one of his own. But to return:

He observes, very justly, that we have a thousand ways of expressing our Passions, our Sentiments, our Hopes and Fears, our Desires and Wants, our Joys, or Sufferings, without the Mediation of Words. *When we are pleased* (says he, pag. 23.) *everything in us speaks: Do we not continually speak by certain Looks, by a Motion of the Head, a Gesture, nay the least Sign in the World?* Ay! and when we are displeased or angry, we can as easily make ourselves understood by Looks and Gestures, as by the plainest and most expressive Language. How often have I seen those lovely Eyes of yours rebuking, with unutterable Eloquence, the assuming Coxcomb, and the malicious Prude, into Silence and good Manners? How many melting Addresses have you received from the Eyes of your languishing Admirers, who had neither Courage nor Merit enough to address themselves in any other Language? In short, languishing modest Lovers resemble a Nation or Society of dumb People, who are never at a loss for a Set of significant Looks, Motions, and Gestures, to supply the want of Words, and Defect of other Expressions; and which form a Language as expressive and intelligible to them, as the most articulate Language in the World can be to other People. Now can any one reasonably doubt, whether the Brute-Animals have the Power and Means of doing the same? It is, I think, undeniable, that they have all a knowing Faculty; but to what purpose

pose can we suppose the all-wise Author of Nature has given them this Faculty, but to enable them to provide for their Wants, their Preservation, and whatever is fit for their Condition, and suitable to the peculiar kind of Life he has appointed for them. Let us, moreover, consider that many Species of Birds, Beasts, and Insects are made to live in Society at large, and others to live in a kind of domestic Society, Male and Female cohabiting together, in a kind of Family, for the Education of their Young-ones. Now, do but consider what Use could the first Species make of their Understanding, for the Preservation and Welfare of their Society, and of course for their own peculiar Good, arising from the publick Prosperity, if the Members of that Society have not among themselves a common Language perfectly known to every one of them? What Use could they make of their Knowledge and Understanding, if they had not some Method of communicating their Knowledge, Advice, and Assistance, to each other? If they could not understand, or be understood by each other, they could neither give nor receive any Comfort, Assistance, or Help from Society, and without such a Communication it would be absolutely impossible for such a Society to subsist; in a word, no more Communication, no more Society.

For the better understanding the Necessity of this Communication, let us take a nearer View of those particular Families among the Beasts, Birds, and Insects, that seem most to want

and to use it; those I mean that live in Society. Among the Beasts, we will particularly consider the Beaver, who for his singular Sagacity, Patience, Industry, and Skill in Architecture, seems to excel all the quadruped Family. * “ The Beaver is a Creature particularly remarkable for the use made of his Skin, but most of all, for the Dexterity with which he builds his Habitation. The Beaver, whether Male or Female, has four Bags under his Intestines, impregnated with a resinous and liquid Substance, which when it is ejected settles into a thick Consistence, of which he makes a singular use in the building his Habitation. The Physicians call it *Castor*, and prescribe it as an excellent Remedy against Poisons, Vapours, and other Indispositions; when it grows old, it blackens and degenerates into a dangerous Poison. He is furnish’d with three very useful Implements for building, his Teeth, his Paws, and his Tail. His Teeth are strong and deeply riveted into his Jaws, with a long and crooked Root; with these he cuts, as well the Wood for his Building, as that which furnishes him with his Food. His fore Feet resemble those of such Animals as hold what they eat in their Paws, as Apes for instance, Rats, and Squirrels; with these Feet, he digs, softens, and works the Clay, which is extremely serviceable to him. His hind Feet are accommodated with Membranes, or large Skins
“ between

* Spectacle de la Nature, *Dial.* 12. p. 77.

“ between his Toes like those of Ducks, and
 “ other Water-Fowl. His Tail is long, a little
 “ flat, entirely covered with Scales, supplied
 “ with Muscles, and perpetually lubricated with
 “ Oil or Fat. This Animal, who is an Ar-
 “ chitect from his Nativity, uses his Tail in-
 “ stead of a Hod, for the Conveyance of his
 “ Clay or Mortar, and a Trowel to spread and
 “ form it into an incrustation; the Scales pre-
 “ vent these Materials from penetrating the Tail
 “ with their Cold and Moisture; but the Scales
 “ as well as the Tail would be injured by the
 “ Air and Water, if it were not for the pre-
 “ vention of an Oil, which he distributes all
 “ over them with his Snout; and the four Bags
 “ I have mentioned, are undoubtedly the Ma-
 “ gazine of this Fluid.

“ The Beavers inhabit the same Mansion
 “ in great Numbers, unless violent Heats, or
 “ Inundations, the Pursuits of Hunters, Scar-
 “ city of Provisions, or an extraordinary Increase
 “ of their Offspring oblige them to sepa-
 “ rate. In order to fix their Settlement, they
 “ chuse a Situation that abounds with Provi-
 “ sions, and is wash'd by a Rivulet, where they
 “ may form a convenient Reservoir of Water
 “ for their Bagnio. They begin with Build-
 “ ing a Mole or Causey, in which the Water
 “ may rise to a level with the first Story of
 “ their Habitation. This Causey at the Foun-
 “ dation may contain ten or a dozen Feet in
 “ thickness: it descends in a slope on the Side
 “ next the Water, which in proportion to its

“ Elevation gravitates upon the Work, and
 “ presses it with a strong tendency towards the
 “ Earth. The opposite Side is raised perpen-
 “ dicular like our Walls, and the Slope, which
 “ at its Basis is twelve Foot broad, diminishes
 “ towards the top, whose breadth does not
 “ exceed two Feet. The Materials of this Work
 “ are Wood and Clay. The Beavers with ad-
 “ mirable facility cut the Pieces of Wood as
 “ thick as one’s Arm, others as large as one’s
 “ Thigh, and from two to four, five, or six
 “ Foot in length ; and sometimes more, in pro-
 “ portion to the Ascent of the slope : They drive
 “ the extremity of these very near each other
 “ into the Earth, and take care to interlace them
 “ with other Stakes more slender and supple.
 “ But as the Water without some prevention
 “ would glide through the Cavities, and leave
 “ the Reservoir dry, they have recourse to a
 “ Clay, which they presently know how to
 “ procure, and with it they close up all the
 “ Interstices both within and without ; and this
 “ entirely prevents all Evacuation ; they con-
 “ tinue to raise the Dyke proportionable to the
 “ Water’s Elevation and Plenty. They are like-
 “ wise very sensible, that their Materials are not
 “ so easily transported by Land as by Water,
 “ and therefore take the Opportunity of its
 “ increase to swim with Mortar placed on their
 “ Tails, and Stakes of Wood between their
 “ Teeth, to every Place where they have oc-
 “ casion for those Materials. If the Violence
 “ of the Water, or the Foot-steps of Hunters,
 “ who

“ who pass over their Work, damage it in any
 “ degree, they immediately repair the Fracture,
 “ visit all the Edifice, and with indefatigable
 “ Application refit and adjust whatever hap-
 “ pens to be disconcerted ; but when they are
 “ too frequently persecuted by the Hunters,
 “ they only work in the Night, or else discon-
 “ tinue their Labours.

“ When the Causey or Dyke is compleated,
 “ they begin to form their Cells, which are
 “ round or oval Apartments, divided into three
 “ Partitions, raised one above another ; the first is
 “ sunk below the level of the Dyke, and gene-
 “ rally full of Water ; the other two are formed
 “ above it. They raise this Structure in a very
 “ solid manner on the edge of their Causey,
 “ and always in Stories, that in case the Wa-
 “ ter should ascend, they may remove to a
 “ higher Situation ; if they find any little Island
 “ near the Reservoir, they fix the Dwelling
 “ there, which is then more solid, and they
 “ less incommoded with the Water, in which
 “ they are capable of continuing but a short
 “ time : but if they are not favoured with this
 “ Advantage, they drive Stakes into the Earth
 “ with their Teeth, to fortify the Building
 “ against the Winds and Water. At the bot-
 “ tom they strike out two Openings to the
 “ Stream ; one conducts them to the Place where
 “ they bathe, and which they always keep very
 “ decent ; the other is a Passage to that quar-
 “ ter, where they carry out every thing that
 “ would soil or rot the upper Apartments. They

“ is a third Aperture much higher, calculated
 “ to prevent their being shut up, when the
 “ Ice has closed the Openings into the lower
 “ Lodgments. They sometimes build their
 “ House intirely on the dry Land, and sink
 “ Ditches five or six Feet deep, in order to
 “ descend to the Water. They employ the same
 “ Materials and Industry in the Structure of their
 “ Dwelling, as they use for their Causey. The
 “ Walls of the Building are perpendicular, and
 “ two Feet thick. As their Teeth are more
 “ serviceable than Saws, they cut off all the Pro-
 “ jections from the Wood, that stand out beyond
 “ the Perpendicular of the Wall, after which
 “ they work up a mixture of Clay and dry Grass,
 “ into a kind of Mortar, with which, by the
 “ Aid of their Tails, they rough-cast the out-
 “ and insides of the Work.

“ The Edifice is vaulted within like the
 “ handle of a Basket, and generally rises in an
 “ oval Figure. The Dimensions are propor-
 “ tioned to the number of the intended In-
 “ habitants. Twelve Feet in length, and ten
 “ in breadth are sufficient for eight or ten
 “ Beavers; if the number increases, they en-
 “ large the Place accordingly. It has been as-
 “ serted for a Truth, that there have been
 “ found above four hundred of these Creatures
 “ in different Lodgments communicating with
 “ one another. But these popular Societies are
 “ very rare, because they are too unmanage-
 “ able and tumultuous, and the Beavers are
 “ generally better acquainted with their own
 “ Interests.

“ Interests. They associate to the number of
 “ ten or a dozen, and sometimes a few more :
 “ they are a set of amicable and sagacious In-
 “ habitants, in whose mutual Society they may
 “ propose to spend the Winter together in a
 “ very agreeable manner ; they are gifted with
 “ a natural Arithmetick, which enables them to
 “ proportion the Place and Provisions to the
 “ Necessities of the Company ; and as it is cus-
 “ tomary for every Individual to continue in
 “ the constant Possession of his own Cell, they
 “ never charge themselves with unnecessary Ex-
 “ pences for any accidental Guests.

“ There are some Beavers called *Terours*,
 “ who make their abode in Caverns dug in a
 “ rising Ground, either on the Shore or at some
 “ distance from the Water, to which they scoop
 “ out subterranean Trenches from their Ca-
 “ verns, which descend from ten to an hun-
 “ dred Feet in depth. These Trenches furnish
 “ them with retreats situated at unequal heights,
 “ and wherein they enjoy a shelter from the
 “ Water when it ascends. Their Beds are
 “ made of Chips, which serve them instead of
 “ a Quilt ; and of Grass, which accommodates
 “ them in the nature of a Feather-Bed.

“ All these Works, especially in the cold Re-
 “ gions, are compleated in *August* or *Septem-*
 “ *ber* ; after which Period, they furnish them-
 “ selves with Provisions. During the Summer
 “ Season they regale themselves with all the
 “ Fruits and Plants the Country produces. In
 “ the Winter they eat the Wood of the Ash,
 “ the

“ the Plane, and other Trees, which they steep
 “ in Water, in Quantities proportionable to
 “ their necessary Consumption; and they are
 “ supplied with a double Stomach, to facilitate
 “ the Digestion of such a solid Food at two
 “ Operations. They cut Twigs from three to
 “ six Feet in length; the large ones are con-
 “ veyed by several Beavers to the Magazine,
 “ and the smaller by a single Animal: but they
 “ take different ways, each Individual has his
 “ Walk assigned him, to prevent the Labourers
 “ from being interrupted by their mutual Oc-
 “ casions. The Dimensions of their Pile of
 “ Timber are regulated in proportion to the
 “ number of the Inhabitants; and it has been
 “ observed, that the Provision of Wood for
 “ ten Beavers, comprehended thirty Feet in a
 “ square Surface, and ten in thickness. These
 “ Parcels of Wood are not piled up in one con-
 “ tinued Heap, but laid cross one another, with
 “ Interstices between them, that they may the
 “ better draw out what Quantity they want,
 “ and always take the Parcel at the bottom,
 “ which lies in the Water: they cut this Wood
 “ into small Particles, and convey it to their
 “ Cells, where the whole Family come to re-
 “ ceive their particular Share. Sometimes they
 “ expatiate in the Woods, and regale their
 “ young with a new Collation. The Hunters,
 “ who are sensible that these Creatures love
 “ green Wood better than old, place a Parcel
 “ of the former about their Lodge, and then
 “ have several Devices to ensnare them. When

“ the Winter grows severe they sometimes break
 “ the Ice, and when the Beavers come to the
 “ opening for the Benefit of the Air, they kill
 “ them with Hatchets, or make a large Aperture
 “ in the Ice, and cover it with a very strong Net,
 “ and then overturn the Lodge; upon which the
 “ Beavers, who think to escape in their usual way
 “ by flying to the Water, and emerging at the Hole
 “ in the Ice, fall into the Snare, and are taken.”

Among the Birds let us take a View of the
 different Tribes of those which are particularly
 called Birds of Passage, who pass in great Bo-
 dies or Flocks from one Climate to another ;
 some seeking for a cold, others a hot, others a
 temperate Region : such particularly as Quails,
 Swallows, Wild-Ducks, Plovers, Woodcocks,
 and Cranes *. In the Spring, the Quails pass
 from *Africa* into *Europe*, to find a more tole-
 rable and moderate Summer than they could
 enjoy in the Country from whence they came.
 Toward the close of Autumn, they return over
 the Mediterranean to obtain in *Barbary* and
Egypt a gentle heat, correspondent to the Cli-
 mates they abandoned, when the Sun was on
 the other side of the Equator. They take their
 flight in Troops, that sometimes resemble Clouds;
 they frequently cover Ships, and the Sailors take
 them without difficulty.

As for the Swallows, it was usually thought
 that they crossed the Seas at the different Seasons
 of the Year, but it is much more probable
 that in these *Northern* Countries, they conceal
 themselves

* Spectacle de la Nature, *Dial.* 11. p. 48, 49, 50.

themselves in the Caverns of the Earth, riveted to one another with their Claws and Bills. They flock to Places unfrequented by Men, or even bury themselves in the Water ; the Precaution they take to lubricate their Feathers with their own Oil, and to roll themselves up like a Ball, preserves them in the Water, and even under the Ice. They are there benumbed, and pass the whole Winter without Motion. The Heart however has a constant palpitation, and the Warmth revives them at the return of the Spring ; they then revisit their former Habitations, and each Individual finds out his own Country, and even his particular City, Village, and Nest.

As to Wild-Ducks and Cranes, both the one and the other, at the approach of Winter, fly in quest of more favourable Climates : They all assemble at a certain Day, like Swallows and Quails, they decamp at the same time, and 'tis very agreeable to observe their Flight ; they generally range themselves in a long Column like an I, or in two Lines united like a V reversed. The Duck or Crane who forms the Point, cuts the Air and facilitates a Passage to those that follow ; but he is charged with this Commission, only for a certain time, at the conclusion of which, he wheels about into the Rear, and another takes his Post. It is very common, but yet a very surprizing Observation, to see how regularly the Swallows meet upon a certain Day, in order to depart all together, and every Circumstance of their Journey has something in it almost miraculous in their Progress over Seas and

and Kingdoms, one knows not which to admire most, the force that sustains them in so long a Passage, or the order in which the whole is accomplished. Who acquainted their Young, that it would soon be necessary for them to forsake the Land of their Nativity, and travel into a strange Country? Why do those who are detained in a Cage, express so much Disquietude at the Season for the usual Departure, and seem to be Afflicted at their Inability to join the Company? What particular Bird charges himself with the Care of assembling a Council, to fix the Day of their Removal? Who sounds the Trumpet to inform the Tribe of the Resolution taken, that each Party may be prepared? Whence have they their Almanack to instruct them in the Season and Day when they are to be in motion? Are they provided with Magistrates and Officers to preserve the Discipline which is so extraordinary among them? For not one of them dislodges till the Proclamation has been publish'd; and not a Defterer is seen on the Day that succeeds their Departure. Have they Charts to regulate their Voyage by? Are they acquainted with the Islands where they may rest, and be accommodated with Refreshments? Are they furnished with a Compass to guide them infallibly to the Coast they would steer to, without being disconcerted in their Flight by Rains or Winds, or the dismal Obscurity of many Nights? or are they endued with a *Reason superiour to that of Man*, who has not Courage to attempt such a Passage,

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without

without a Multitude of Machines, Precautions, and Provisions? Where would be the Danger or Absurdity of ascribing all this to *Reason*? *A Reason* limited and circumscribed within the narrow Bounds of their own Sphere. *A Reason* sufficient to direct them to the Means of preserving and increasing their several Families, and answering the several Ends of their Being, and the Purposes of their Creation. *A Reason not superiour to that of Man*, because the *Reason of Man* is vast and comprehensive, taking in the whole Compass of Nature, looking forwards and backwards into Eternity; whereas the Sphere of Action allotted to Brutes, is contracted into a very narrow Compass, and confined to a few Articles of Life and Action; in which too, perhaps, the exquisite Structure of their Organs, and the Tenuity and Purity of their Juices and animal Spirits, not corrupted, or impaired by Luxury, and Intemperance, may, possibly, give them a considerable Advantage over the greater part of the Human Species. But more of this in its proper Place.

Let us next descend to the various Tribes of Insects, which, tho' vile and contemptible in their Appearance, yet each of them in their several Ranks and Stations proclaim aloud the infinite Wisdom and Power of their Creator. Their Variety, their Dispositions, their Sagacity, their Policy, their Industry, the wonderful Proportion of their Organs, the Delicacy of their Structure, and a thousand other Curiosities observable in every Species, are matter of infinite
Delight

Delight and Pleasure to a curious and inquisitive Génius; but were we able to examine them in a nearer View, could we be capable of knowing the direct Purposes of infinite Wisdom in their Creation, the Relation they bear, and the harmonious Proportion they stand in to the universal System, it would afford us infinite matter of Astonishment and Surprize, as well as of religious Reverence and Adoration to their Omnipotent Creator. Small and contemptible as they appear to us, they are really formed with the most exquisite Symmetry, the most delicate Proportion. Vulgar Prejudice may consider them as the Effect of Chance, and the Refuse of Nature; but an attentive Eye, assisted by the help of Microscopes, discovers in them astonishing Marks of infinite Wisdom, which, far from neglecting them, has been particularly careful to cloath, arm, and accommodate them with all the Instruments and Faculties necessary to their Condition. This it is * that has arrayed them, even to a degree of Complaisance, by laying out such a Profusion of azure, green, and vermillion, Gold, Silver, and Diamonds, Fringe, and Plumage, upon their Robes, their Wings, and the Ornaments of their Heads. We need only behold the Ichneumon, *Spanish* Dragon, and Butterfly, nay, a Caterpillar itself, to astonish us with this Magnificence. The same infinite Wisdom, which has been so liberal in their Ornaments, has completely armed them for making War, and assaulting their Enemies,

* Spectacle de la Nature: *Dial.* i. p. 7, 8.

as well as defending themselves. The generality of them are provided with strong Teeth, a double Saw, a Sting with two Darts, or vigorous Claws, and a scaly Coat of Mail, for the Defence of their whole Body. The Safety of the greatest part of them consists in the Agility of their Flight, by which they easily avoid the Danger that threatens them : Some by the Assistance of their Wings, others by a Thread that supports them, when from the Leaves on which they live, they throw themselves at a distance from their Enemy ; and others by the Spring of their Hind-feet, whose Elasticity immediately launches them out of the reach of Danger, and when they are destitute of Force, Stratagem, and Cunning, supply the want of the common and ordinary Means of their Preservation.

This is very wonderful ; but our Wonder increases, when we attentively consider the different Organs and Implements with which each of them work in their several Professions : Some spin, and have a couple of Distaffs, and Fingers to form their Thread ; others make Nets and Lawn, and for that purpose are provided with Shuttles, and Clues of Thread. There are some who build in Wood, and are therefore supplied with two Bills for cutting their Timber. Others make Wax, and have their Shops furnish'd with Rakers, Ladles, and Trowels. Most of them have a Trunk, more wonderful for its various Uses than the Elephant's, and which to some serves for an Alembic for the distillation

distillation of a Syrup Man can never imitate ; to others it performs the Office of a Tongue ; many employ it as a Drill for piercing, and the generality of them use it as a Reed for Suction. Several, whose Heads are fortified with a Trunk, a Saw, or a couple of Pincers, carry in the other extremity of their Bodies an Augur, which they lengthen and turn at discretion ; and by that means dig commodious Habitations for their Families in the Heart of Fruits, under the Bark of Trees, in the Substance of Leaves or Gems, and frequently in the hardest Wood itself. There are few who have excellent Eyes, but have likewise an additional Benefit of a couple of Horns, or *Antennæ*, that defend them ; and as the Animal moves along, especially in the dark, make a tryal of the Way, and discover by a quick and delicate Sensation, what would defile, drown, or endanger them ; and if they find these Horns moistened by any offensive Liquor, or bend by the Resistance of a solid Body, the Animal is warned of the Danger, and turns another way. Now all these Motions, even of the minutest Animals, however accidental or capricious they may appear to us, are as really directed to a certain End, as those of the largest Beings : we shall find all the Sagacity and Cunning we admire in a Fox, for chusing himself an advantageous Kennel, providing for himself and his Family the Necessaries of Life, and avoiding the Snare of the Gin, and the Persecution of the Hunter : The same Industry with which we see a Bird build itself a convenient Nest, provide

vide for the Subsistence of itself and Young-ones, and elude the Snares of the Fowler ; you will find the same Care, the same Sagacity, actuating the smallest Insect for the Preservation of itself and its minute Posterity. The Parent is seldom, or never, deceived in the natural Choice of Means for its own Preservation, or the Security and Education of its Young-ones. Dissolve a Grain of Pepper in Water, you may discover by the help of a Microscope, Worms of an incredible Smallness, swimming in the Fluid. The Parent, who knows this to be their proper Nourishment, never lays her Eggs in any other Place. Look through a Microscope at a Drop of Vinegar, there you will discover a number of little Eels, and never any other Animals, because one particular Creature knows, that Vinegar, or the Materials that compound it, is proper for her Family, and therefore deposits them either in that Matter, or in the Liquor itself, and no where else. † In those Countries where the Silk-worm feeds at large in the Fields, her Eggs are only to be found on the Mulberry-tree : 'tis easy to see what Interest determines her to that Choice. You will never find upon a Cabbage any Eggs of the Caterpillar that eats the Willow ; nor see upon the Willow the Eggs of any Caterpillar who feeds upon Cabbage. The Moth seeks for Curtains, Woollen Stuff, dress'd Skins, or even Paper, because its Materials are Fragments of Cloth, which have lost the bitter Flavour of Hemp, by the work-

† Spectacle de la Nature. *Dial. i.* p. 19.

ing of the Paper-mill. In short, every Species of Animals, from Man the Lord of the Creation, to the minutest Insect that the naked Eye, or the Microscope can discover, act with Regularity and Uniformity, with all the Marks of Wisdom, Sagacity, and Prudence, within their several Spheres of Action, for the Preservation of their Being, the Propagation of their Species, and answering the several Ends and Purposes of Providence in their Creation, and the Rank which they hold in the System of Nature.—But what am I doing! —Pardon me, Madam, my Pursuit of this copious and delightful Inquiry, has led me off from the main Question I proposed to consider, which was, the Necessity of some Language, some Means of communicating the Sentiments, Wants, Inclinations, and Desires of the Individuals of every Society and Family, in order to consult and provide for the Safety and Happiness of the whole. The mutual Wants of Society, the Care and Education of a Family, must be in some sense, and to a certain degree, the same in all Societies and Families of Birds and Beasts, Reptiles and Insects, as well as of Men; and without some kind of Language, some Method of Communication, those Wants could never be known, nor those Necessities effectually supplied. All Creatures, therefore, that live in society, who divide the several Duties and Offices of that Society among the Individuals, who appoint to every Member their distinct Offices, their peculiar Posts, their particular Provinces, must of necessity have some Language,

guage, be it what it will, since, without this Help it is quite impossible for any Society to subsist. Now, tho' all Animals do not incorporate in large Societies, yet all have Families, domestic Engagements, Cares, and Necessities, which require mutual Help and Assistance, and by consequence a certain Language, by which their mutual Wants, Inclinations, and Necessities may be discovered and made known to each other ; so that every Species of Animals seem to have the same want of a Language, of some kind or another, as those which live in great Societies : for as all Societies are but Associations of Families or Individuals, whatever infers the Necessity of a Language in one case, infers it equally in all.

It would be hard to assign a Reason why Nature, or rather the all-wise Author of Nature, who always acts uniformly, should deny some of them a Privilege he has granted to the rest. It is a general Observation that all the Productions of Nature are uniform, that as she is sparing in Superfluities, so she is rather profuse in things necessary, and upon the whole does nothing in vain : but is it not necessary that a Couple of Animals, joined to form a Household and Family together, a Couple of Birds for instance, should be able to understand, and mutually to impart their Sentiments and Thoughts to each other ? Let us return to the old Supposition of two People absolutely dumb, living together in the same House, without the Assistance of any other Person ; I defy the Union to subsist, if they have no means left of agreeing about their
Affairs,

Affairs, and expressing their mutual Wants and Necessities. Two Sparrows, two Foxes, two Whales, will lie under the same Impossibility of living together; and all the Inconveniencies of the dumb Society I have mentioned, will be seen in their respective Families: In a word, the Necessity of a Language between a Husband and his Wife, to enable them to live together, upon which human Societies subsist, is, in due degree, the same in all the Species of Beings below them, in every Tribe and Family of the Brute-Creation.* Could it be supposed, that there were any Race of Animals in the Universe capable of producing their Kind in absolute Solitude, without the Intervention of a different Sex, it must be confessed the Faculty of Speech to them would be quite a useless Talent: but wherever two Beasts, or two Birds, shall stand in an habitual Need of each other, and form among them a lasting Society, they must of necessity speak to each other. How is it to be conceived, that in the Gallantry of their first Addresses to each other, their mutual Concern and Vigilance for each other's Welfare, and the necessary Cares that attend the Education of their Families, they should not have a thousand things to say to each other? It is impossible in the order of Nature, that a Sparrow, or a Turtle, that is fond of his Mate, should be at a loss for proper Expressions to discover the Tenderness, the Jealousy, the Anger, the Fears he entertains for her, in the several In-

* Philosoph. Amusement, p. 36, 37, &c.

cidents of Life that must arise betwixt the most loving Couple, in the course of a long Cohabitation. He must scold her when she plays the Coquet, he must bully the Sparks that make Attempts upon her Virtue, he must be able to understand her when she calls to him; he must, whilst she is assiduously sitting upon her Brood, be able to provide Necessaries for her, and know distinctly what it is she wants or calls for, whether it be something to eat, or Materials to repair her Nest; in all which, a Language, of some sort or other, is absolutely necessary.

Our Author reasons so pertinently and consistently upon this Head, that I shall chuse to give you the two or three following Paragraphs in his own Language.

“ Many Beasts, one will say, have not a settled and permanent Household like Birds, (for by-the-bye, Birds are the most perfect Model of conjugal Constancy and Fidelity:) this I very well know, and their Number is even very great. Such are Dogs, Horses, Deer, and almost all Quadrupeds, Fishes, and Reptiles. But I shall always insist upon a Principle, granted and acknowledged as certain; Nature is too much like herself in Productions of one and the same Genus, as to have put between Beasts so essential a Difference, as that of Speaking, or not Speaking at all, would be. Upon this Principle it is, that though we hardly know the Seeds of Coral, of Mushrooms, of Truffles, or Fern, we are nevertheless

“ nevertheless persuaded that these Plants pro-
 “ ceed from Seeds, because it is the manner
 “ in which Nature produces all the rest. Let
 “ us then conclude, that if Nature has given
 “ to Beasts (or Animals) living in Society, and
 “ in a Family, the Faculty of Speaking; she
 “ has doubtless bestowed the same Advantage
 “ on all the rest. For we are not now upon
 “ those accidental Differences which Nature
 “ loves to diversify in the different Species of
 “ the same Genus: there are not, perhaps, in
 “ the whole World two Faces perfectly alike;
 “ but yet all Men have a Face. There are
 “ among the several Species of Animals Differ-
 “ ences still greater: some have Wings, others
 “ have Fins, some Feet and Legs; the Serpents
 “ have none of these: but all Animals have
 “ the Faculty of moving and transporting them-
 “ selves wherever they please, according to
 “ their Wants. Among Animals there are some
 “ that see and hear more or less perfectly; but
 “ yet they all hear and see. It is the same thing
 “ with the Faculty of Speech: this Faculty,
 “ perhaps, is more perfect in the Beasts which
 “ live in Societies and form Families; but it
 “ being in some, we must believe it to be in
 “ all of them, but more or less perfect, accord-
 “ ing to their respective Wants.

“ It is even observable, that the Animals
 “ who live neither in Society, nor in a settled
 “ Family, yet have in each Species a sort of
 “ Commerce or Society among themselves.
 “ Such are the Quadrupeds, the Fishes, the
 “ Reptiles,

“ Reptiles, the Birds themselves independently
 “ of their Household, as Starlings, Partridges,
 “ Ravens; Ducks, and Hens. Now, what Ad-
 “ vantage could these Creatures have by endea-
 “ vouring to live in Society one with another;
 “ if they did it not for mutual Assistance, and
 “ reciprocally to have the Benefit of their Know-
 “ ledge, Discoveries, and of all the Helps they
 “ can afford each other; and how could they do
 “ so, if they do not understand one another?
 “ All the Arguments I have already used to
 “ prove, that the Creatures which live in So-
 “ ciety must have a Language, here again find
 “ their Place and their whole Energy. All the
 “ Difference must be only in the Degrees of
 “ *Plus* and *Minus*; and if we judge of this only
 “ by Matters of Facts, perhaps there is no dif-
 “ ference at all.

“ The Wolves, for instance, hunt with great
 “ Skill, and together contrive warlike Strata-
 “ gems. A Man crossing a Frith, saw a Wolf
 “ who seemed to be watching a Flock of Sheep.
 “ He informed the Shepherd of it, and advised
 “ him to cause the Animal to be pursued by
 “ his Dog: I shan’t be such a Fool, replied the
 “ Shepherd; the Wolf yonder is there only to
 “ divert my Attention, and another Wolf who
 “ is working on the other side, only watches
 “ the Moment when I shall set my Dogs upon
 “ this to snatch one of my Sheep from me.
 “ The Man who was passing by, willing to
 “ be satisfied of the Fact, promised to pay for
 “ the Sheep; and the thing happened, just as
 “ the

“ the Shepherd said it would. Does not a Stra-
 “ tagem so well concerted evidently suppose
 “ that the two Wolves had agreed together,
 “ one to shew, and the other to hide himself?
 “ Now how is it possible to agree in this man-
 “ ner without the help of Speech?

“ A Sparrow finding a Nest that a Martin
 “ had just built, standing very convenient for
 “ him, possess’d himself of it. The Martin
 “ seeing the Usurper in her House, call’d for
 “ help to expel him. A thousand Martins came
 “ full speed and attacked the Sparrow : but the
 “ latter being covered on every side, and pre-
 “ senting only his large Beak at the Entrance
 “ of the Nest, was invulnerable, and made the
 “ boldest of them, who durst approach him,
 “ to repent their temerity. After a Quarter
 “ of an Hour’s Combat, all the Martins dis-
 “ appeared. The Sparrow thought he had
 “ got the better; and the Spectators judged
 “ that the Martins had abandoned their Un-
 “ dertaking. Not in the least. Immediately
 “ we saw them return to the Charge; and
 “ each of them having procured a little of that
 “ temper’d Earth, with which they make their
 “ Nests, they all at once fell upon the Spar-
 “ row, and inclosed him in the Nest to perish
 “ there, tho’ they could not drive him thence.
 “ Can you imagine, Madam, that the Martins
 “ could have been able to hatch and concert
 “ this Design all of them together, without speak-
 “ ing to each other?

“ Wonders

“ Wonders are recounted by Travellers of
 “ the Monkeys, when they go a plundering;
 “ a Troop of Soldiers when they go a For-
 “ raging, cannot march in greater Order, or
 “ with more Precaution. I could mention, and
 “ you can easily recollect a thousand other In-
 “ stances of the same Nature ; but this would
 “ require a Volume, and I aim only at support-
 “ ing my Argument. Men hitherto have al-
 “ ways made use of these Instances to prove
 “ that Beasts have a knowing Faculty ; and they
 “ have been in the right so to do, because it
 “ is really inconceivable, that Beasts can do such
 “ singular Actions without Knowledge, but we
 “ have not sufficiently examined into the Me-
 “ rits and Bottom of this Question ; for if it be
 “ absolutely impossible for Beasts to perform
 “ these Actions without speaking, we are more-
 “ over obliged to conclude, that they have a
 “ Faculty of speaking to each other. Now,
 “ Madam, I would beg of you here to ob-
 “ serve, that this is not an Opinion or a System
 “ founded upon meer Conjecture or probable
 “ Explications, but an Argument supported by
 “ sensible and palpable Facts ; I say sensible Mat-
 “ ters of Fact, such as these I have just been
 “ alledging, and a thousand others of every
 “ Kind. Enter into a Wood where there are
 “ a Parcel of Jays, the first then that sees you
 “ gives the Alarm to the whole Troop. Mag-
 “ pyes, Blackbirds, and almost all the Feather-
 “ ed Kind do the same. Let a Cat but show
 “ herself upon the top of a House, or in a Gar-
 “ den,

“ den, the very first Sparrow that perceives her,
 “ exactly does what a Centinel does among us,
 “ when he perceives an Enemy ; he by his
 “ Cries warns all his Companions, and seems
 “ to imitate the Noise of a Drum beating a
 “ March. See a Cock near his Hen, a Dove
 “ near the Female he is courting, a Cat fol-
 “ lowing his Mate, there is no end of their
 “ Discourses, till there is an end of their Court-
 “ ship. But there is one important Reflection
 “ yet behind, which in my Opinion is little
 “ less than Demonstration. We every day
 “ speak to Beasts, and they understand us very
 “ well. The Shepherd makes himself under-
 “ stood by his Sheep, but particularly by his
 “ Dog that attends him. The Cows under-
 “ stand all the Milkmaid says to them. Many
 “ a profound Conversation passes between the
 “ Sportsman and his Dogs ; the Groom and his
 “ Horses ; the Lady and her Parrot ; Miss and
 “ her Cat ; we speak to them all, and they
 “ understand us ; they in their turn speak to
 “ us, and we understand them. How much more
 “ probable is it, that they speak to and understand
 “ each other ! for with regard to them, we can
 “ speak no other than a foreign Language ; and
 “ if Nature has enabled them to speak a foreign
 “ Language, how can she have refused them the
 “ Faculty of speaking and understanding a Na-
 “ tural one ? This can hardly be conceived.
 “ But though we should allow Understand-
 “ ing and Language to the several Species of
 “ Beasts, Birds, and Insects ; What shall we do
 “ with

“ with the Fishes and Reptiles ; What can we
 “ say for them ? Has Nature been as boun-
 “ tiful to them as to the rest, must we al-
 “ low them to have Speech and Understand-
 “ ing ? Can they understand and converse with
 “ each other ? Can we imagine a Conversation
 “ betwixt two Fishes, two Ants, or two
 “ Worms ? The Birds indeed sing, the Dogs
 “ bark, the Wolves howl, Sheep bleat, Lions
 “ roar, Oxen low, Horses neigh ; this every
 “ body hears and knows : but who ever heard
 “ the Language of a Fish, or the Conversa-
 “ tions of Worms and Caterpillars ? What-
 “ ever Difficulty there may be in hearing or
 “ explaining their Language, I think there can
 “ be but little in apprehending they have one,
 “ upon the same general Principles laid down
 “ before ; and since there is a strong Presump-
 “ tion that all other Species have it, as arising
 “ from the Necessity of their Nature ; the Pre-
 “ sumption seems equally strong for them as
 “ for the rest. But the Difficulty lies in be-
 “ ing able to know and distinguish it, part
 “ of them live in an Element forbidden to
 “ us, and many of the others escape our Sight
 “ by their smallness. But how do we know
 “ that Fishes have not as many and perhaps
 “ more vocal Expressions than the Birds them-
 “ selves ? They all of them seem to be form-
 “ ed upon the same Model ? Some fly, others
 “ swim ; but flying and swimming are one
 “ and the same Motion, the Difference is only
 “ in the Element. We are told in the Book
 “ of

“ of *Genesis*, ch. i. v. 20. that God created at
 “ the same time both Fishes and Fowls from
 “ the Bosom of the Waters. Fishes have five
 “ Senses as well as Birds and other Animals,
 “ and why should they not have the Faculty
 “ of Speaking as well as the rest? It is true,
 “ we cannot hear them speak or sing, but it
 “ is perhaps for want of proper Organs to hear
 “ them. The Water is thoroughly penetrated
 “ with Air which the Fishes breathe, Why may
 “ they not with that Air, and by means of
 “ a Spring equivalent to the Tongue and Throat,
 “ form Vibrations and Sounds too nice and de-
 “ licate for our Ears, but which are easily heard
 “ and understood by their own Species? The
 “ Ear of Man is extremely coarse, which is
 “ the result of a necessary Providence; for were
 “ our Ears sensible of the minutest Vibrations
 “ of the Air we live in, we should be for-
 “ ever stunned with a thousand confused Noises,
 “ which would never permit us to distinguish
 “ any one of them. There are then certainly
 “ in the Air many Sounds which we do not
 “ hear; such as, for instance, the Noise of a
 “ Silk-Worm gnawing a Mulberry Leaf; if he
 “ is alone, or there are but few of them to-
 “ gether, no body can hear them: but put a
 “ a certain Number of them in a Cabinet, and
 “ then all those little Noises joined in unison,
 “ become mighty sensible to our Ears. How
 “ much more is it possible, that there may be
 “ in the Water Noises insensible to us, and that
 “ Fishes may by that means speak, without
 H “ being

“ being audible to us : at least I delight in
 “ thinking so, not to rob any part of the Cre-
 “ ation of those Perfections which Nature uses
 “ to bestow on all : nor could I think, with-
 “ out a kind of philosophical Melancholy,
 “ that she had doomed to eternal Silence, in-
 “ numerable Nations, which inhabit the Im-
 “ mensity of the Seas and Rivers. Silence is
 “ the Portion of the Dead ; Speaking enlivens
 “ the Living themselves. You may laugh, and
 “ be as merry as you please upon my speak-
 “ ing Fish, as doubtless he was laughed at that
 “ first mentioned a flying Fish, and yet the
 “ one may chance to prove as true as the
 “ other.

“ The Reptiles and Insects are just in the
 “ same Case. There are many kinds of Rep-
 “ tiles which have very distinct vocal Ex-
 “ pressions; such as Serpents, Frogs, and Toads :
 “ and consequently, arguing upon the Principle
 “ of the Uniformity of Nature, we are inti-
 “ tled to suppose an Equivalent in the rest ;
 “ not to mention supplemental Miens, Looks,
 “ and Gestures. It is not quite so with the
 “ Insects : there is no Species of them, that we
 “ know of, that has vocal Expression, pro-
 “ perly so called : The Cry of the Cricket, the
 “ singing or chirping of the Grasshopper, the
 “ Noise of certain Butterflies, and the hum-
 “ ming of Flies, are not properly vocal Sounds,
 “ but Noises caused by the trembling of a
 “ Membrane. But what of all that ? It can-
 “ not be doubted, but that the Cry of the
 “ Cricket

“ Cricket and Grasshopper, serves them to call
 “ each other in order to meet, and, very like-
 “ ly, to converse. It may be thought that the
 “ humming of the Flies likewise serves them
 “ to know each other in every Society, either
 “ by the Uniformity or Unison of the Tone,
 “ or imperceptible Differences not within our
 “ reach, which may be equivalent to vocal Ex-
 “ pressions, and is at the same time a Proof, how
 “ Nature, always uniform as to what is gene-
 “ ral and essential, is, at the same time, ingeni-
 “ ous in varying the Means and Particulars of
 “ of her own Productions. Now, what Nature
 “ has done for some Insects, she has certainly
 “ done for all.

“ There is, for instance, a particular Sort of
 “ Spiders, which have a very singular Method
 “ of testifying to each other their Desire of
 “ being together. The Spider that wants Com-
 “ pany, strikes, with I know not what Instru-
 “ ment, against the Wall or Wood where she
 “ has settled, nine or ten gentle Blows, nearly
 “ like the Vibrations of a Watch, (which there-
 “ fore the Ignorant and Superstitious call a Death-
 “ watch) but a little louder and quicker ; after
 “ which she stays for an Answer : if she hears
 “ none, she repeats the same by Intervals for
 “ about an Hour or two, resuming this Exer-
 “ cise, and resting alternately Night and Day.
 “ After two or three Days, if she hears no-
 “ thing, she changes her Habitation, till she
 “ finds one that answers her. It is another Spi-
 “ der that answers her exactly in the same man-

“ ner, and, as it were, by Echo. If the lat-
 “ ter likes the Proposal, the Conversation grows
 “ brisker, and the beating becomes more fre-
 “ quent. Give attention to it, and you will
 “ find by the Noise that they gradually ap-
 “ proach each other, and that the Beatings
 “ come at last so close, that they are confound-
 “ ed, after which you hear no more Noise ;
 “ very likely the rest of the Conversation is
 “ whisper’d. I have oftentimes amused my-
 “ self in making the Echo of a Spider,
 “ which I have heard beating, and whose
 “ Noise I imitated, and she answered me punc-
 “ tually ; she sometimes even attacked me, and
 “ began the Conversation ; I have often given
 “ that Diversion to several People, and made
 “ them believe it was a familiar Spirit.

“ How many like Discoveries might we make
 “ upon Insects, if our Organs were delicate
 “ enough to see and perceive their Airs and
 “ Motions, to hear their Voices, or what Nature
 “ has allotted them instead of Voices, I make
 “ no doubt, but we should find in Ants, Bees,
 “ Worms, Scarabæus’s, Caterpillars, Palmer-
 “ worms, Mites, and all the Insects, a Language
 “ designed for their Preservation, and the sup-
 “ ply of their Wants. And as there are certain
 “ Species of Insects, in which we observe great-
 “ er Industry and Knowledge than in large Ani-
 “ mals, it is not improbable that they have like-
 “ wise a more perfect Language in proportion,
 “ always confined however to the Necessaries of
 “ Life.”

Thus

Thus far I have transcribed almost intirely from the ingenious Author, who upon this Head talks more like a Philosopher, than in any other part of his Work. But were we now to enter into a minute Examination of the various Labours, the indefatigable Application, the publick Spirit, the regular Policy, the exact Oeconomy of the several Families of Insects, Bees, Ants and Wasps in particular, of which you find most surprizing Accounts in *Spectacle de la Nature*, and other learned Writers, it would be very hard to account for them, any otherwise than by allowing some mutual Means of Communication betwixt the Individuals of each Society, which we may venture to call a Language, or something analogous to it; and why should we be afraid of allowing this, when we consider, that even the most inarticulate Sounds are a kind of Language to some part of the Creation or other; nay, I may venture to add, even to ourselves. Do not the Drum and Trumpet speak to the Soldier? Does not every musical Sound speak to some part of our Nature? How are we excited by some to martial Rage and Fury, soften'd by others into jovial Mirth and Pleasures and dissolute Luxury; and melted by others into the tenderest Sentiments of Pity and Compassion, and sometimes even into Tears? Nay, the most discordant and grating Sounds have a Power over us; they make disagreeable Impressions, and excite painful Sensations in us; they discompose and dissipate the Spirits, they seem to curdle the Blood, like Acids thrown into
Milk,

Milk, they enfeeble the whole nervous System, they spread a Trembling through our Joints, and Paleness over our Faces, and make the stoutest Heart to tremble. Mr. Collier, has somewhere in his Essays, carried this Thought so far as to fancy, that such a Concert of discordant Sounds, or Anti-music, might be composed, as should sink the Spirits, shake the Nerves, curdle the Blood, and inspire Despair, Cowardice, and Consternation into all that hear it. *'Tis probable* (says he, Part II. page 24.) *that the roaring of Lions, the warbling of Cats and Screech-Owls, together with a Mixture of the howling of Dogs, (to which I could add some other Sounds, which I tremble to think of) judiciously imitated and compounded, might go a great way in this Invention :* And proposes it as a very useful Improvement for the military Service, to strike a Terror and Panic into an Enemy ; not considering, that the Performers in this infernal Concert, and their Friends about them, would be in more Danger than the Enemy, who would be further removed from the discordant Sounds, and consequently from the terrible Impression.—This by-the-bye.—But in general we may venture to affirm with the Apostle, *That amongst that almost infinite Variety of Sounds and Voices that are to be heard thro' the whole Creation, there is not so much as one without its Signification.* 1 Cor. xiv. 10.

Well! Madam, thus far, I think, our Author and we are pretty well agreed, that Brutes have *Understanding* to know and express their
Wants,

Wants, and provide for their Necessities; and a *Language*, or something equivalent to it, to demand and give mutual Advice and Assistance. Here, I think, we must make a Stand, we can go no further: their Language, however known to them, is quite unknown to us; but could we converse with them in their own Language, as our renown'd and ingenious Countryman Capt. *Lemuel Gulliver* did with the Nation of the *Houhyunnims*, we might then perhaps have Reason to agree with him, that they think and act more rationally, have more Sense, more Honour, and more Virtue, are better Philosophers, and deeper Politicians, than some of the finest Folks in *Great Britain*.—The only Difference now between us is, how to account for these surprizing Faculties, that they are not the Effects of mere Matter and Motion; that they vastly exceed all the Powers of Mechanism, he readily confesses, and so I think must you and I. But spiritual Powers and Faculties, without a spiritual Subject to which they belong, and in which they reside, is a shocking Absurdity. Well, and how does he get rid of this Difficulty? You shall hear him, Madam, in his own Words, Page 10. *Reason* (says he) *naturally inclines us to believe that Beasts have a spiritual Soul; and the only thing that opposes this Sentiment, is the Consequences that might be inferred from it. If Brutes have a Soul, that Soul must be either Matter or Spirit, it must be one of the two; and yet you dare affirm neither. You dare not say it is Matter, because* you

you must then necessarily suppose Matter to be capable of Thinking; nor will you say that it is Spirit, this Opinion bringing with it Consequences contrary to the Principles of Religion; and this among others, that Men would differ from Beasts, only by the Degrees of Plus and Minus, which would demolish the very Foundations of all Religion. Therefore, if I can elude all these Consequences, if I can assign to Beasts a spiritual Soul, without striking at the Doctrines of Religion, it is evident that my System, being moreover the most agreeable to Reason, is the only warrantable Hypothesis. Now I shall, and can do it with the greatest Ease imaginable. I even have means, by the same Method, to explain many very obscure Passages in the Holy Scripture, and to resolve some very great Difficulties, which are not well confuted. This we shall unfold in a more particular Manner.

And, in good truth, Madam, you will find the Matter as particular as the Manner. An Hypothesis, so wild and unphilosophical, so contrary to Reason and Scripture, so shocking to common Sense, delivered with such an assuming Air, and such dogmatical Language, could surely proceed from nothing but an Excess of Vanity, or Contempt of his fine Lady's Understanding. But I shall detain you from it no longer, but give you as short and plain a View of it as I can; and, as near as possible, in his own Words.

Page 11. *Religion teaches us, that the Devils, from the very Moment they had sinned, were reprobate, and that they were doomed to burn for*

ever in Hell; but the Church has not as yet determined whether they do actually endure the Torments to which they are condemned: it may then be thought they do not yet suffer them, and that the Execution of the Verdict brought against them is reserved for the Day of the final Judgment.—Page 13. Now what I pretend to infer from hence is, that till Doom's-day comes, God, in order not to suffer so many Legions of reprobate Spirits to be of no use, has distributed them thro' the several Spaces of the World, to serve the Designs of his Providence, and make his Omnipotence to appear. Some continuing in their natural State, busy themselves in tempting Men, in seducing and tormenting them, either immediately, as Job's Devil, and those that lay hold on human Bodies, or by the ministry of Sorcerers or Phantoms. These wicked Spirits are those whom the Scripture calls the Powers of Darkeness, or the Powers of the Air. God, with the others, makes Millions of Beasts of all kinds, which serve for the several Uses of Man, which fill the Universe, and cause the Wisdom and Omnipotence of the Creator to be admired: By that means I can easily conceive how, on the one hand, the Devils can tempt us; and on the other, how Beasts can think, know, have Sentiments, and a spiritual Soul, without any way striking at the Doctrines of Religion. I am no longer surprized to see them have Dexterity, Forecast, Memory, and Judgment. I should rather have occasion to wonder at their having no more, since their Soul, very likely, is more perfect than ours: But I discover the Reason of this, it is because in Beasts as well as in

our selves, the Operations of the Mind are dependent on the material Organs of the Machine to which it is united; and these Organs being grosser and less perfect in Beasts than in us, it follows, that the Knowledge, the Thoughts, and the other spiritual Operations of Beasts, must of course be less perfect than ours: and if these proud Spirits know their own dismal State, what an Humiliation must it be to them, thus to see themselves reduced to the Condition of Beasts! But whether they know it or no, so shameful a Degradation is still with regard to them, that primary Effect of the divine Vengeance I just mention'd, it is an anticipated Hell. P.

17. Having mentioned the Prejudices against this Hypothesis, such as particularly the Pleasure which People of Sense and Religion take in Beasts and Birds, especially all sorts of Domestic Animals; he proceeds: Do we love Beasts for their own sakes? No. As they are altogether Strangers to human Society, they can have no other Appointment, but that of being useful and amusing. And what care we, whether it be a Devil, or any other Creature, that serves and amuses us? The thought of it, far from shocking, pleases me mightily. I with Gratitude admire the Goodness of the Creator, who gave me too many little Devils to serve and amuse me. If I am told, that these poor Devils are doomed to suffer eternal Tortures, I admire God's Decrees, but I have no manner of share in this dreadful Sentence; I leave the Execution of it to the Sovereign Judge, and notwithstanding this, I live with my little Devils, as I do with a Multitude

titude of People, of whom Religion informs me, that a great Number shall be damned. But the cure of a Prejudice is not to be effected in a Moment, it is done by Time and Reflection; give me leave then lightly to touch upon this Difficulty, in order to observe a very important Thing to you.

Persuaded as we are, that Beasts have Intelligence, have we not all of us a thousand times pitied them for the excessive Evils, which the majority of them are exposed to, and in reality suffer? How unhappy is the Condition of Horses, we are apt to say, seeing a Horse whom an unmerciful Carman is murdering with Blows! How miserable is a Dog whom they are breaking for Hunting! How dismal is the Fate of Beasts living in Woods, they are perpetually exposed to the Injuries of the Weather, always seized with Apprehensions of becoming the Prey of Hunters, or of some wilder Animal, for ever obliged, after long Fatigue, to look out for some poor insipid Food, often suffering cruel Hunger, and subject moreover to Illness and Death! If Men are subject to a multitude of Miseries that overwhelm them, Religion acquaints us with the reason of it, viz. their being born Sinners: but what Crimes can Beasts have committed, by Birth to be subject to Evils so very cruel? What are we then to think (p. 19.) of the horrible Excesses of Miseries undergone by Beasts: Miseries indeed, far greater than those of Men? This is in any other System an incomprehensible Mystery; whereas nothing is more easy to be conceived from the System I propose. The rebellious Spirits deserve a Punishment still more rigorous, and happy is it for

them that their Punishment is deferred; in a word, God's Goodness is vindicated, Man himself is justified: for what Right can we have without Necessity, and often in the way of meer Diversion, to take away the Life of Millions of Beasts, if God had not authorized him so to do? And Beasts being as sensible as our selves of Pain and Death, how could a just and merciful God have given Man that Privilege, if they were not so many guilty Victims of the Divine Vengeance?

But hear still something more convincing, and of greater Consequence: Beasts, by Nature, are extremely Vicious. We know well that they never sin, because they are not free; but this is the only Condition wanting to make them Sinners. The Voracious Birds and Beasts of Prey are cruel: Many Insects of one and the same Species devour each other. Cats are perfidious and ungrateful, Monkeys are mischievous, Dogs are envious. All Beasts in general are jealous and revengeful to excess; not to mention many other Vices we observe in them; and at the same time that they are by Nature so very vicious, they have, say we, neither the liberty, nor any helps to resist the Byass that hurries them into so many bad Actions. They are, according to the Schools, necessitated to do Evil, to disconcert the general Order, to commit whatever is in Nature most contrary to the Notion we have of natural Justice, and to the Principles of Virtue. What Monsters are these, in a World originally created for Order and Justice to reign in? This is in good part what formerly persuaded the Manicheans, that there were of necessity two Orders of Things, one good,

good, and the other bad; and that Beasts were not the Work of the good Principle. A monstrous Error! But how then shall we believe that Beasts came out of the hands of their Creator with Qualities so very strange? If Man is so very wicked and corrupt, it is because he has himself through Sin perverted the happy Nature God had given him at his Formation. Of two things then we must say one: either that God has taken delight in making Beasts so vicious as they are, and of giving us in them Models of what is most shameful in the World; or that they have like Man Original Sin, which has perverted their primitive Nature.

The first of these Propositions finds very difficult access to the Mind, and is an express Contradiction to the Holy Scriptures, which say, that whatever came out of God's hands, at the time of the Creation of the World, was good, yea very good? What good can there be in a Monkey's being so very mischievous, a Dog so full of envy, a Cat so malicious? But then many Authors have pretended, that Beasts before Man's Fall were different from what they are now; and that it was in order to punish Man, that they are rendered so wicked: but this Opinion is a meer Supposition, of which there is not the least Footstep in Holy Scripture. It is a pitiful subterfuge to elude a real Difficulty; this at most might be said of the Beasts with whom Man has a sort of Correspondence, but not at all of the Birds, Fishes, and Insects, which have no manner of relation to him. We must then have recourse to the second Proposition, That the Nature of Beasts has, like that of Man,

Man, been corrupted by some original Sin : Another Hypothesis void of Foundation, and equally inconsistent with Reason and Religion, in all the Systems which have been hitherto espoused concerning the Soul of Beasts. What party are we to take? Why, admit of my System and all is explained. The Souls of Beasts are refractory Spirits, which have made themselves guilty towards God. The Sin in Beasts is no original Sin, it is a personal Crime, which has corrupted and perverted their Nature in its whole Substance ; hence all the Vices and Corruption we observe in them, tho' they can be no longer criminal ; because God by irrecoverably reprobating them, has at the same time divested them of their Liberty.

You have here, Madam, a full View of our Author's Hypothesis, the rest being nothing but flourish and trifle, idle Answers to idle Objections, upon a Supposition that his Scheme is demonstrably certain. And is it not a choice one, to answer so many Purposes, and solve so many Difficulties in Philosophy and Scripture, and reconcile so many apparent Contradictions in Reason and Religion ! Does not your very Heart recoil at the monstrous Thought ? Can you view it in any Light without Abhorrence and Aversion. It was a just Censure of a very great Man upon *Descartes's* Philosophy, that if he were at a loss for Reasons to oppose his Doctrine, that *Brutes were mere Machines*, this alone would be a sufficient Proof to himself, that it was *making a Jest of so great a part of the Creation* : but this Author has exceeded him with a Vengeance ! Instead of *making a Jest*, he has made them *Devils* ;

vils ; and in the Management of his Argument there is such a Confusion of Sentiments, such a Jumble of Light and Darknes, Truth and Error, Reason and Imagination, that one knows not where to begin, or in what Order to proceed, how to disentangle Truth from Error, to separate the Precious from the Vile, to distinguish the cool Dictates of Reason and Philosophy, from the wild Flights of Imagination and Fancy. To follow him through all his Excursions, would be an endless and useless Undertaking. Our best and shortest way will be to examine the Goodness of the Foundation, and see whether there be any Ground in Scripture or Reason to support so monstrous a Superstructure ; if not, it must fall to the ground, and leave room for a just and uniform Structure upon solid and lasting Foundations ; which, (if you approve of this) shall be the Subject of a second Letter.

In the mean time, Madam, I assure myself, you will be in no pain about the Event. You are too well acquainted with the Language and Genius of that lively Nation, as not to know that they have Gasconades in Philosophy, as well as in Gallantry, Romance, and Politics : You are blessed with an Understanding too good to be imposed upon by vain Pretences to Reason and Philosophy ; you can easily distinguish betwixt empty Sounds, and solid Sense ; betwixt the wanton Sallies of a luxuriant Fancy, and the severe Conclusions of Truth and Justice. You have a Firmness of Mind too great to be mov'd by the vain Terrors of a frightened Imagination, which are too often the Curse of weak and little Minds. Continue, therefore,

fore, your wonted Care and Affection for your innocent Domesticks; they look up to you for their Support; from your Hand they receive the slender Provisions of Life, without murmuring or repining, which they endeavour to repay with the sincerest Gratitude, the most faithful Services, and unfeigned Affections that their Natures are capable of: If you are pleased, they rejoice with you; Do you caress them? They are transported with Pleasure. Do you frown? They tremble. Do you chide or punish them? They endeavour to appease you by the most humble Prostration and Submission. Do not many of them discover more Gratitude, Sincerity, nay, I had almost said Virtue, than many of their Masters, who value themselves upon the Refinements, upon their Reason, the Improvements of their Understandings, and nice Sense of Honour? Are they wretched as well as we? Are they exposed with us to the unavoidable Calamities of Life? They are not wretched through their own faults, they are not the Authors of their own Misery; *they* (as well as we) *are made subject to Vanity, but they not willingly*, by a voluntary Abuse of their proper Faculties, but are by a Necessity of Nature involv'd in the Guilt and Condemnation of their rebellious, attainted, natural Lord and Sovereign. *Rom. viii. 20.*

If you are not displeased with the Subject, tired with the Length, or disgusted with the manner of this tedious Epistle, I shall quickly do myself the Honour to send you some further Considerations upon the same Subject. I am, with great Respect, Madam,

Your most humble Servant.

FREE THOUGHTS
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OR, AN
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UPON THE
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OR, AN
EXAMINATION

OF
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In Two LETTERS to a LADY.

By *JOHN HILDROP*, M. A.
Rector of *Watb*, near *Rippon* in *Yorkshire* :
And Chaplain to the Right Honourable *Charles*
Earl of *Ailesbury* and *Elgin*.

LETTER II.



L O N D O N :

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FREE THOUGHTS

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LETTER II.

MADAM,

YOUR favourable Acceptance of my first Letter, encourages me to hope you will not be displeased with a second; in which I propose to consider more distinctly the Question before us. I shall view it in every Light that Revelation and Reason can give us. I shall consider the Account that *Moses* gives of their first Formation, and original State in Paradise, and compare it with their present State and Condition in the World;

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from whence I shall draw some Inferences and Conclusions, and endeavour to answer some Objections ; and leave it to your own good Judgment to determine upon the Evidence that shall be given.

The Apostle to the *Hebrews*, xi. 3. tells us, that by *Faith we understand that the things which are seen* (this whole visible World, with all its various Inhabitants and Productions) *were made out of things which are not seen*, (an ideal, invisible, glorious World, eternally subsisting in the Divine Mind) that this present temporary, fading State of things, which we call the natural World, is an Out-birth, a creaturely Manifestation of the invisible Powers and Beauties of eternal Nature, impressing and displaying themselves through all the Regions of created Nature, through all the Tribes and Families of the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms, and to which they exactly correspond, as the Shadow to the Substance, and the Impression to the Soul. From this fruitful Womb of eternal Nature were produced in their appointed Season, by the infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and Power of the Almighty, the whole Mundane System, the World with all its Inhabitants, all the Subjects of the Animal and Vegetable Kingdoms, all the innumerable Species, Tribes, and Families of Birds, Beasts, and Fishes, Reptiles, and Insects, all that live upon the Earth, fly through the Air, or sport themselves in the great Abyss, from *Behemoth* and *Leviathan* to the

the smallest Insect : the very least and meanest, as well as the greatest, are all the Work of God, formed by infinite Wisdom and Power upon the perfect ideal Models in the Divine Mind. *Moses* describes the Creation or Formation of the Fishes and Fowls out of the Waters as the Work of the Fourth Day. Gen. i. 20, 21, 22. *God said, Let the Waters bring forth abundantly, the moving Creature that hath Life, or (as it is more truly rendered in the Margin) a Soul; and Fowls that may fly above the Earth, in the open Firmament of Heaven; and God created great Whales, and every living Creature that moveth, which the Waters brought forth abundantly after their kind, and every winged Fowl after his kind, and God saw that it was good. The Beasts and Reptiles as produced out of the Earth, were the Work of the Fifth Day, ver. 24. And God said, Let the Earth bring forth the living Creature after his kind, Cattle and Creeping Thing, and Beast of the Earth after his kind, and it was so. And God made the Beast of the earth after his kind, and Cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind : and God saw that it was good. They were all pronounced to be good, yea, very good, being the Productions of infinite Wisdom and Goodness, formed in Member, Weight, and Measure, of the most exquisite Beauty, the most delicate Proportion, without Defect, without Superfluity, exactly fitted and enabled to answer the various Purposes of their Creation, to*

execute the Will of their Creator, to minister to the Delight and Service of Man, and contribute to the Beauty and Harmony of the universal System. These, therefore, were the first Inhabitants of Paradise, in which they were settled by their Maker with a special Blessing to increase and multiply their Species, in the several Regions of Nature, appointed for their Habitation. We may consider them as the numerous Domesticks of some great and mighty Prince, sent beforehand to fill, adorn, and beautify the several Offices and Apartments of his Court, and give him a magnificent and triumphant Reception. Accordingly we find, that so soon as Man was created in the Image of God, ver. 26, 27. *God gave him an absolute Power and Dominion over them all. He blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it, and have dominion over the Fish of the sea, and over the Fowl of the air, and over every Living Thing that moveth upon the earth.* As Man was thus created in the Image of the Ever-Blessed Trinity, all the Excellencies and Perfections that were to be found in every Species of Animals in their most perfect State, were all in a super-eminent degree in the perfect human Nature, thereby our first Parent had an intire Knowledge, and absolute Dominion over all the various Kinds, Ranks, and Orders of the animal and vegetable World. By the first he was enabled to know the very central Natures, and most intimate Properties

Properties and Powers of every Species, and to give them significant Names, expressive of their several Natures. Thus we read, Gen. ii. 19. *And out of the Ground the Lord God formed every Beast of the field, and every Fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living Creature, that was the Name thereof.* The Original of all Names was to express the Nature of the Things named, upon which account Names and Natures were very frequently in Scripture used promiscuously. And as he perfectly knew their several Properties and Powers, and had them all in a supereminent degree within himself, so he had an absolute Power to direct and controul them, so as to fulfil the Will of their Creator, in answering the End of their Creation, and preserving the Peace and Harmony of the whole System. Whilst they received through him as God's Vicegerent, and their Governour, such Communications of Happiness, as their Nature was capable of, and their State of Being required. He was their immediate Lord, receiving from the infinite Fountain of Light and Good a constant uninterrupted Communication of Life and Blessing, which were through him derived to all the several Parts and Inhabitants of the Animal and Vegetable Creation, and thereby kept them all in absolute Subjection and Dependance upon him; so that he had an intire Dominion over this whole visible World which we inhabit. To this Original

ginal Charter or Commission the holy Psalmist refers, *Psal. viii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.* Lord, *what is Man that thou art mindful of him, and the Son of Man that thou visitest him? Thou madest him lower than the Angels, to crown him with Glory and Worship; Thou madest him to have dominion over the Works of thy Hands, thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet, all Sheep and Oxen, yea and the Beasts of the Field, the Fowls of the Air, and the Fishes of the Sea, and whatsoever walketh through the Paths of the Sea.*

Here, Madam, let us make a stand, and review with Astonishment and Rapture the infinite Wisdom, Power, and Goodness of our Almighty Creator, the transcendent and inconceivable Beauties of the new World, the Harmony, the Peace and Happiness of these its once happy Inhabitants, blessed with more exalted Faculties, Strength and Beauty, cropping the everlasting Verdure, the unfading Flowers of Paradise, drinking the untainted Streams of Life and Immortality in a delicious Garden, into which neither Sin nor Sorrow, Corruption or Death had yet entered, exempt from Pain and Sicknes, Labour and Misery, where the Spirits of Darknes had no Power, nor the least Appearance or Shadow of Evil could find admission; where all was Purity, Light, and Pleasure, the Joys and Beauties of eternal Spring; where each of them in their proper Place and Order were ministering to the Happiness of their Sovereign Lord,

Lord, the Harmony and Order of the System, and proclaiming aloud, as it were with one Voice, the Glory and the Goodness of him that made them!—Such was, such must have been (if we believe the Scriptures) the blessed Condition of these once happy Creatures.

Is there any thing in this Account that seems either impossible or improbable? Does not the whole appear consistent, reasonable, worthy of God, and agreeable to Scripture? On the other hand, how mean, how trifling, how unworthy of God, how repugnant to Scripture, is the Philosophy of those, who suppose them to be either animated by *Evil Spirits*, or else allowing them no spiritual Principle of Motion or Action, suppose them to be mere Machines, to have no more Sense or Perception than a Clock, or a Watch; that though they have some Motion, some Appearance of Sense and Shadow of Reason, yet it is no more than what arises from the Structure of their Organs, and the Mechanism of their Frame; that they are therefore no more the Objects of our Compassion than any other Piece of Machinery. That their Cries and Complaints, which we commonly fancy to be Expressions of Grief, Pain, or Suffering, are no more to be regarded than the Sound of a Drum when it is beaten, or the Noise of a Clock when it strikes. Is not this offering Violence to Reason, Nature, and common Sense? Is it not making a Mock of God's Creatures? Sure I am, that the Scriptures and most ancient Philosophy treat this Subject
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in a very different manner. *Moses* declares in the most express manner, that they have *living Souls*; Gen. i. 29, 30. *And God said, Behold I have given you every Herb bearing Seed, which is upon the face of all the Earth, and every Tree, in which is the Fruit of a Tree, yielding Seed, to you it shall be for Meat. And to every Beast of the Earth, and to every Fowl of the Air, and to every Thing that creepeth upon the Earth, wherein there is Life, or (as it ought to be rendered, as in the Margin, a living Soul) I have given every green Herb for Meat.* On this account it is, that the Scriptures every where represent them as Objects of the divine Care and Compassion, as depending upon him for the Support and Sustenance of that Life which he has given them. Hence holy *Job xxxiii. 41.* asks this Question, *Who provideth for the Raven his Food? when his young ones cry unto God, they wander for lack of Meat.* The Psalmist has the same Expression, *Psal. cxlvii. 9.* That God giveth Fodder to the Cattle, and feedeth the young Ravens when they call upon him. So again, *Psal. civ.* speaking of the whole Brute-Creation, he says, *These wait all upon thee, that thou mayst give them their Meat in due Season; when thou givest it them, they gather it; when thou openest thy Hand, they are filled with good.* Our blessed Lord says the same thing, *Mat. vi. 26.* *Behold the Fowls of the Air, for they sow not, neither do they spin, and yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them.* And in the Levitical Law, God seems to assert his peculiar

peculiar Title to every Species, and their Relation to him, by claiming the First-born of each, as peculiarly his own. Thus we read *Exod. xiii. 12. The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Sanctify to me all the First-born among the Children of Israel, both of Man and Beast, it is mine.* And *Psal. cxviii.* where all Creatures are called upon to praise God, *Beasts and all Cattle, Worms; and feathered Fowl.* It will be found to have a much more exalted Meaning, than appears at first Sight to an unattentive Reader.

But now I expect to be asked, if this were the original happy State of the Brute-Creation, how came they to lose it, how came they into this miserable Condition in which we see them at present? A God of infinite Wisdom and Goodness could make none of his Creatures to be miserable; much less would he, by an arbitrary Act of his Will and Pleasure, deprive them of any kind or degree of Happiness, which his Goodness had freely conferred upon them, without any Offence or Demerit on their parts. They are not properly moral Agents, no Command or Prohibition had ever been given them; and where there was no Law, there could be no Transgression; and where there was no Transgression, one would naturally imagine there would be no Punishment. And yet there seems to be an universal Sentence of Condemnation gone out against the whole System. They suffer in every Article of their Nature in such a

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manner, as one would think nothing but some universal Guilt, and intire Corruption and Degeneracy of their Nature could possibly deserve or bring upon them. How else comes it to pass, that there should be in some of them such a Malignity and Cruelty of Temper, and in others such poisonous Qualities, or such hideous Deformity as is quite shocking and terrible to human Nature? But the most beautiful and harmless, even those whom we consider as the Emblems of unspotted Innocence, as Lambs and Doves are exposed to the same Calamities, of Misery, Pain, Corruption and Death, as those of the most savage and cruel Natures. Now it is as plain, from Reason and the Nature of Things, that these malignant Qualities are not essential to them, were not originally implanted in them at their first Creation, as that from an absolutely good and perfect Cause no Evil could proceed: And the Scriptures declare that God pronounced them all to be *good*, yea *very good*: Endued with every Perfection, that their Nature and Rank in the Scale of Beings required. Whence then this deplorable Change? this unhappy Subversion of their primitive State, their present lamentable Condition!

I have already told you, that their Happiness consisted in the Communications of divine Blessings, which were conveyed to them through the pure Canal of the unfallen human Nature. Our first Parent in his State of Innocence and Glory, stood in the place of God

to the World below him, cloathed with all the Beauties, and Blessings of Paradise; the created Image of the ever-blessed Trinity; through him were derived all the Blessings of that happy State, to all the different Species, Tribes and Families of the animal Creation. This was the happy State of the primitive Earth and all its Inhabitants, till Man by his Transgression lost the Favour of his Maker, and forfeited both for us and them the blessed Privileges of our primitive State and Condition; the Communication of divine Light and Life betwixt God and Man being suspended, he had no more Power to direct and govern the Creatures below him. He stood naked and destitute, poor and helpless in the midst of his numberless unhappy Subjects and Domesticks, utterly unable to assist or deliver himself or them from the Bondage of Corruption he had brought upon them, he being by his own Act and Deed devoted to Darknes and Death, necessarily involved the whole System in the same Calamity. The Centre of Blessing was shut up from him, or rather he had shut himself out of it; His Eyes were closed to the Light of Heaven, and all the Sources and Channels of divine Communications were intirely interrupted; He had no Blessing to receive, and therefore none to bestow. He was fallen under the Influences of the astral World, confined as a Malefactor to a Prison of his own making, to be scourged and punished by the jarring discordant Properties of the di-

vided Elements, to which he had voluntarily subjected himself; no wonder therefore that the whole System of Creatures below him, who were his Subjects, Domesticks, and Dependants, are deeply affected by his Fall, and share in his Punishments. So the Apostle to the *Romans* tells, *Chap. viii.* That *the Creature*, (the whole Creation) *was made subject to Vanity, not willingly* (not by any Fault of their own) *but by reason* (on the Account, by the Sin) *of him, who hath subjected the same in hope*; that is, of *Adam*, who was their immediate Lord and Governour. *For we know that the whole Creation groans and travels in Pain.* The whole System of the visible Creation sympathizes and suffers with their rebellious Lord. Thus when a great Subject is attainted of High Treason against his Sovereign, the Sentence affects not only himself, but his Children and Domesticks; and an intire Forfeiture of all the Privileges of his Blood and Birth, are the certain and necessary Consequences of his Condemnation: So that as Man was by his Transgression devoted to Darknes and Death, so were all the Brute-Creation, who were his Domesticks and Dependants. Though it was not indeed so properly a judicial Sentence pronounced upon them, as a necessary Consequence of their State in Nature, and the Relation and Dependance which they stood in to our first Parent their natural Lord and Sovereign. They were by his Transgression made subject to Vanity, Misery,

fery, and Death, but no violent Execution was suffered to be made upon them, but in the way of Sacrifice ; none of them were to be put to death, but by God's own Appointment to be Types and Monitors of the great propitiatory Sacrifice of the Lamb of God, who was slain from the Foundation of the World for the Salvation and Redemption of lost Mankind. No Power was given to Man to murder or abuse them, to kill or eat them, as we have now, that was a particular Indulgence granted to Man after the Flood, which had so broken and corrupted the Face of Nature, weakened and destroyed the vegetable Powers and seminal Principles of the Earth, that the Herbs and Fruits had, in a great measure, lost their natural Temperature, and were less capable of nourishing the Bodies of Men, upon which God gave them liberty to eat the Flesh of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, as well as the Fruits of the Earth, as we read *Gen. ix. 2, 3. The Fear of you, and the Dread of you, shall be upon every Beast of the earth, and upon every Fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the Fishes of the sea ; into your hand are they delivered, every moving thing that liveth shall be Meat for you, even as the green Herb, have I given you all things.*

The State of the *Brute-Creation*, therefore, has, ever since the Fall of Man, been very different from what it was at the first. Some of them are fierce and untractable, preying
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about in desert Places, the Enemies and Destroyers of Mankind, who yet still confess their original Subjection to them by flying from them, and not assaulting them, unless compelled by Hunger, or in their own Defence : the rest are in a State of Servitude and Subjection, ministering in their proper Place and Order, to the Pleasure and Necessities of Mankind. Upon this view they are represented to us both by Reason and Revelation, as the unhappy Objects of our Care and Compassion, as guiltless Sufferers for our Transgressions : they declare it to be a Breach of natural Justice, an Indication of a cruel and unnatural Temper to abuse or oppress them, to increase the Miseries, and aggravate the Sufferings of these innocent unhappy Creatures, and to add by our Barbarity to the Weight of that Bondage to which they are made subject by our Disobedience, to put them to unnecessary Labours, to load them with immoderate Burdens, to punish them with immoderate Severities, or withhold from them those necessary Refreshments which their State and Condition requires. The Wise Man in the Book of *Proverbs*, Ch. xii. 10. makes it an Act of Righteousness, the Dictate of natural Equity : *The righteous Man regardeth the Life of his Beast, but the tender Mercies of the Wicked are cruel.* Where he plainly declares it to be the Mark and Duty of a righteous Man to be merciful to his Cattle ; and the Property of an unjust and wicked Man to be cruel and barbarous. God himself in the
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old Law guarded against this unnatural Cruelty by several exprefs Commands and Prohibitions in favour of these unhappy Creatures, particularly in the Fourth Commandment, the Rest of the *Sabbath-day* is declared to be for the Ease and Benefit of the Cattle, as well as for their Owners; as it is more exprefly declared, *Exod. xxiii. 12. Six days shalt thou do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine Ox and thine Ass may rest in the same.* And at the 4th and 5th Verses of the same Chapter, there is a particular Injunction to shew Mercy even to the Cattle of our Enemy, if we see them in distress: *If thou meet thine Enemies Ox or Ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see the Ass of him that hateth thee, lying under his burden, and wouldst forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.* And our Blessed Lord himself mentions it as a special Act of Humanity and natural Justice, *To lead our Oxen and Asses to watering, or if they happen to fall into a pit, to pull them out, tho' it were on the Sabbath-day,* *Luke xiv. 5. Math. xii. 11.* In the xxvth of *Deut. ver. 4.* God prescribes a special Law in favour of the Oxen that trod out the Corn, as we now thresh it, that their Mouths should not be muzzled whilst they were at their Labour, but that they might eat as well as work, and enjoy some immediate Fruits of their Labour. We read in the Book of *Jonah*, that when the Prophet had denounced the Destruction of *Nineveh*, the King proclaimed a
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Fast of three Days for the Cattle as well as for the People, *Let neither Man, nor Beast, Herd, nor Flock, taste any thing; let them not feed, nor drink Water, but let Man and Beast be covered with Sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God.* And at the last Verse of this Prophecy, God declares, that his Compassion for the Cattle, as well as for the People of Nineveh, had diverted the Execution of the Sentence denounced against them. *Should I not,* (said he) *spare Nineveh that great City, in which are more than Sixscore Thousand Persons, that cannot discern betwixt their right Hand and their left, and also much Cattle?* We read Numbers xxii. 28. That the Mouth of Balaam's Ass was miraculously opened to upbraid the Cruelty of his Rider, and his barbarous Usage of a faithful old Servant, that had never stumbled or fell with him before: *Wherefore, says she, hast thou smitten me these three times? Am not I thine Ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day, was I ever wont to do so to thee?* And he said, Nay. And when the angry Prophet justified his Severity to the poor Beast, the Angel of the Lord pleaded for the Ass, and condemned the Rider; *Wherefore* (said he) *hast thou smitten thine Ass these three times? Unless she had turned from me, surely I should have slain thee, and saved her alive.* And tho' the rest havenot naturally the Power of complaining in Words, yet have they all a Power of expressing their Pains, their Wants, and their Sufferings, which every body understands,

stands, and which every good-natured Person would gladly relieve or prevent.

As for the Malignity observable in many of them; as particularly the Cruelty and Revenge of some, the Envy and Treachery of others, which the *learned Father* knows not how to account for, there seems to be, I think, no great difficulty in comprehending it. The Violence offered to the whole System of Nature, by an absolute Violation of the Laws of Harmony, Justice, Truth, and Order, an intire Apostacy from the supreme Fountain of Life and Blessedness, could not fail to produce dreadful Effects in every part of Nature; all those Qualities and Properties in every Species of Being which in their primitive State of Innocence and Glory were as so many Vessels and Instruments of Blessing, were by this unhappy Change, made so many different Sources and Instruments of Disorder and Confusion, and the more exalted and powerful they were in the original Frame and Intention of Nature, so much the more noxious, malignant and destructive they were in their State of Depravity and Corruption; according to that well-known Maxim of Philosophy, *That the best things when they are corrupted, became the worst*. This will be found to be universally true from the highest to the lowest Order of Beings both in Heaven and Earth. The most exalted Seraphims in the Host of Heaven, when they left their first Habitation, and fell from their Thrones of Glo-

ly, found their Fall proportionably deeper, and their Malignity and Misery proportionably greater than those who moved in inferiour and lower Degees of Power and Glory ; the higher they were exalted in the Regions of Light and Immortality, the lower they sunk in the Abyſs of Darkneſs and Death : The exceeding Brightneſs of their Flame ; the Strength of their Love, and the mighty Powers of their Angelick Nature, whiſt united to the pure Light and Love of God, became, when ſeparated from it, thoſe everlaſting Chains of Darkneſs by which they are bound, and in which they are detained, to the Judgment of the Great Day. The ſame may be too juſtly ſaid of our ſelves, of our own Species. Men of mean Condition, low Parts, narrow Minds, and weak Abilities, if they grow corrupt and wicked, they act with low Views, in a narrow Sphere, and conſequently are capable of doing leſs Miſchief in the World ; but Men of ſtrong Parts, exalted Underſtandings, extenſive Views, and great Abilities, eſpecially when aſſiſted and ſupported by Intereſt and Power, when they degenerate, when they turn Tyrants, Oppreſſors, and Reprobates, they ſpread Rapine and Terror, Deſtruction and Miſery all round them. A little Villain may rob an Orchard or a Fiſhpond, may ſteal a Sheep or an Horſe, for which the whole World agrees they richly deſerve to be hanged, and generally meet with their Fate ; but your illuſtrious R—ues, your Villains of Diſtinction, who plunder Pro-

vinces and Kingdoms, who depopulate Countries, who devour or sell whole Nations into Slavery, and fill the face of the Earth with Blood and Desolation ; they move in a different Sphere, and defy that Justice, which if not blind to their Crimes, yet is unable to punish them.

And as for your Sex, whom God and Nature have decked with a Profusion of Charms and Graces, to sweeten the Cares, alleviate the Distresses, and heighten the Joys of social Life, if they should ever be so unhappy as to deviate from the glorious Path of Virtue and Honour, to degenerate from that amiable Simplicity of Life and Purity of Manners, which is their distinguishing Excellency, their truest Beauty ; it is not to be doubted, but their Guilt and Corruption would be proportionable to that tender Sensibility of Heart which is the Beauty and Glory of their uncorrupted Innocence. And however strange and incredible it may appear to those who judge of Ages past by the Virtue and Innocence of the present, which no doubt will be a Pattern to succeeding Generations ; yet Historians, Philosophers, Poets, and Painters, have agreed in some Representations of Female Degeneracy, which an innocent well-bred Man who should make an Estimate of the rest of your Sex, from your own unexceptionable shining Character, would never expect to find but in Romance and Fable. And that the same Observation founded in the very Nature

of Things, runs through every Species of the Animal-Creation, is so reasonable a Supposition, as hardly to admit of a Debate. Upon which account it can hardly be doubted, but that those Animals, which in their present State of Degeneracy and Corruption are most shocking, detestable and destructive to human Nature, were in their original State of Perfection, most eminently useful, beautiful, and good: and by the same way of reasoning one would be tempted to imagine, that those Species of Animals who seem to be the most uncorrupt Part of the Brute-Creation, who seem to have the least Symptoms of the universal Malignity which has more or less poisoned the whole System, whom Religion and Philosophy represent to us as the most perfect created Emblems of human Virtue and Innocence; I mean the social and domestic Animals, those which contribute to the Comforts and Necessities of Life; as Sheep and Oxen, Doves and Bees, &c. were in their original State, little more exalted in the Perfection of their Natures, than we see them at present.

I have often been tempted to indulge an Imagination, that in the original Frame of Things, every Species of Animals were in a more particular and immediate Manner related or united to some one particular Part, or Power, or Faculty of human Nature, which might be as it were their particular Element, and in which they might most eminently display

play and exercise their specifick Virtues and Powers, as Instruments, Emblems, or Unions in the universal Harmony of Nature. This, Madam, is a mere Conjecture; we pretend not to Demonstration, but when we quit the Land of Systems, to wander in the spacious Fields of Imagination and Probability, many a beautiful Thought, many an entertaining Conjecture will present it self to a lively Fancy, not unworthy the Attention of a wise Man, or the Consideration of a Philosopher.—One thing however is certain, that in their present State of Degeneracy and Corruption, the very worst of them, are but feeble Shadows, faint Emblems, of the same kind of Degeneracy and Corruption in our selves, in corrupt human Nature. Shew me any one Species of Animals more ridiculous, more contemptible, more pernicious, more detestable than are to be found among the silly, the vicious, the wicked part of Mankind. Can Apes and Monkeys be a more ridiculous or mischievous kind of Creatures, than some very fine Folks who are to be found in the most polite Assemblies? Is a *poor Dog* with four Legs, who acts agreeably to his Nature, half so despicable a Creature as a *jad Dog* with two, who, with high Pretensions to Reason, Virtue and Honour, is every day guilty of such Crimes, for which his *Brother-Brute* would deserve to be hanged? Is a Swine that wallows in the Mire, half so contemptible an Animal, as the Drunkard and the Sot, who
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wallow in the Filth and Vomit of their own Intemperance? What is the Rage of Tygers, the Fierceness of Lions, the Cruelty of Wolves and Bears, the Treachery of Cats and Monkeys, and the Cunning of Foxes, when compared with the Cruelty, the Treachery, the Barbarity of Mankind? The Wolf and the Tyger that worry a few innocent Sheep, purely to satisfy their Hunger, are harmless Animals when compared with the Rage and Fury of Conquerors, the Barbarity and Cruelty of Tyrants and Oppressors, who uninjured, unprovoked, lay whole Kingdoms waste, turn the most beautiful Cities into ruinous Heaps, fill every Place with the dreadful Effects of lawless Rage, and sweep the face of the Earth before them like a devouring Fire or an Inundation; and all this only to gratify an insatiable Avarice and Ambition, to extend their Conquests, to raise an empty Name, a Fabrick of Vanity upon the Ruins of Humanity, Virtue and Honour. Besides, the very fiercest and cruellest Brutes never prey upon one another; whatever Violence they may offer to those of a different Species, which they never do, unless compelled by Hunger or in their own defence, yet they spare one another; whilst Man, the Lord of the Creation, distinguished from every Species of Animals below him by the glorious Privilege of a rational and intelligent Nature, is worse than a Brute to his own Species: Not only every Rank and Order of Men are in a State of En-

mity

mity to each other, but even those of the same Rank and Order, who are united not only by one common Nature, but by one common Interest, are as so many Beasts of Prey to each other. Every Man who is under the Dominion of an imperious Lust, a violent Passion, or interfering Interest, is a Brute to those that stand in his way, obstruct his Views, embarrass his Schemes, or any way oppose the darling Passion and Desire of his Soul. Look into the several Ranks, Orders, Societies, and Assemblies of Mankind; (the Courts of Princes and Assemblies of Ladies only excepted; where nothing but Truth and Virtue, Politeness and Honour can find Admittance:) and you will find more Treachery and Iniquity, more Fraud and Cunning, than among the Beasts of the Field, or the most savage Inhabitants of the Desert. — I was once rallying a very pretty Lady, who was smothering a favourite Lap-Dog with a Torrent of Kisses and tender Speeches; Fie, said I, Madam, How can you bestow so many Caresses upon that little Beast, which many an honest Man would be glad to purchase at any rate? Sir, said she, I love my little Dog, because he loves me; and when I can meet with any one of your Sex, that has half so much Gratitude and Sincerity as my poor *Totty*, he shall never find me insensible or ungrateful. To say the truth, Ingratitude and Insincerity seem to be Vices of mere human Growth, seldom or never to be found among the Brute-Creation; on
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the other hand, many illustrious and surprising Instances of Gratitude from Brutes to Men who have been their Defenders, Physicians, or Benefactors, not only stand recorded in ancient History, but are matters of daily Observation. And is not a poor honest Cur that loves and watches, and barks for the Security of his Master, a Reproach to an unfaithful Servant, a treacherous Friend, or a deceitful Companion?—Were any considerate Man to take a cool and impartial Survey of human Nature, could he trace the subtle Wandrings even of his own Heart, thro' the many intricate Mazes, the numberless By-paths of Fraud and Cunning, Diffimulation and Hypocrisy, by which the Interests and Counsels of this World are usually directed and supported, he would blush to find that all those unamiable, or, to speak more properly, detestable Qualities, which are to be found in the most malignant Parts of the Brute-Creation, are to be found in a more eminent degree of Malignity in his own corrupt Heart.--But whither am I wandering? Let us return to our Subject.

You, Madam, who judge by Principles of common Sense, without the Prejudices of Philosophy, I make no doubt are thoroughly satisfied that Brutes have Souls endued with such Powers of *Thinking*, *Reasoning*, and *Willing* as is necessary for their State and Condition in the Scale of Beings. But how will you be able to convince your learned Neighbour, with whom you have maintained many a warm Debate, and must expect many more
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if you give into my Sentiment, and declare your self on my side of the question? You must expect neither Mercy nor Manners if you dare to contradict or differ in the least from this great Oracle Mr. *Locke*. To say the truth, the honest Man without Taste or Genius sets up for a Philosopher upon the sole Credit of having read his Book, and submitting more implicitly to his Authority than to his Bible, tho' he understands them both alike. He will certainly tell you as he often has me, that neither he nor Mr. *Locke* denies their having Souls, but improperly so called; not spiritual immaterial Substances, but Matter so sublimated and refined, of such an exquisite Frame and Texture, as to be capable of Thought and spontaneous Motion, and all the other Qualities and Properties which in a more exalted and proper Sense are truly attributed to incorporeal and spiritual Beings.

The Possibility of a *material Animal*, of *self-moving thinking Matter*, has at first sight such a glaring Appearance of Contradiction; that it is amazing how any Man of Sense, but especially of superiour Parts and distinguished Abilities, could ever seriously maintain it; and it will puzzle the wisest Man to shew what real Purposes of Philosophy or Religion can be promoted by it. The most material (pardon me, Madam, I did not intend it for a Pun) I say, the most material Argument that has been brought to support it, is the supposing and calling the accidental Affections of
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Matter,

Matter, such as Gravitation, Attraction, Electricity, Fermentation, and Rarefaction, the essential Properties of Matter, with which it has really no natural Connection, or necessary relation to it. *The Cohesion* of the several parts of Matter, *i. e.* the Power by which they are united and cemented together; *The Gravitation, Attraction,* or Power by which the several parts of the System gravitate or are attracted to each other, is intirely and essentially distinct from the Matter it self.

The great Sir *Isaac Newton*, as quoted by Mr. *Locke*, p. 149. who adopts his Sentiment in confirmation of his own, seems in his younger Days to have been in the same way of thinking. I shall give it you in Mr. *Locke's* own Words, in his Answer to the *Bishop of Worcester*. You ask (says he) *how can my Idea of Liberty agree with the Idea that Bodies can operate only by Motion and Impulse?* Answ. *By the Omnipotency of God, who can make all things agree that involve not a Contradiction.* He goes on, 'Tis true, I say, that Bodies operate by Impulse, and nothing else, and so I thought when I writ it, and yet can conceive no other way of their Operation; but I am since convinced by the judicious Mr. *Newton's* incomparable Book, that 'tis too bold a Presumption to limit God's Power in this point by my narrow Conceptions. *The Gravitation of Matter towards Matter by ways inconceivable to me, is not only a Demonstration that God can, if he pleases, put into Bodies Powers and Ways of Operation;*
above

above what can be derived from our Idea of Body, or can be explained by what we know of Matter, but also an unquestionable and everywhere visible Instance that he has done so. Now with all due Submission to the Judgment of both these excellent Writers, I cannot help thinking this to be a very crude and uncorrect manner of expressing a very unphilosophical Thought. *That God can, if he pleases, put into Bodies, Powers and Ways of Operation, above what can be derived from our Idea of Body :* That God can either immediately by his own Power, or mediately by the Operation of inferior Intelligences, communicate what kind or degree of Motion he pleases to any part or portion of Matter; that he can exalt, refine, transmute, and model it into what Form or Shape he pleases; that he can make even the vilest part of Matter a proper Vehicle, Habitation, or Body for the most glorious Angel, who can deny? But what then? What will this prove? Will this justify our confounding two distinct Ideas? Must we confound Matter with Motion, Body with Soul, because we find them existing or united together? Does not the very Expression of *putting Powers and Ways of Operation into Bodies*, imply that those Powers are distinct from Bodies, something superadded to them by the omnipotent Power of God? Something not included in the Idea of Body, not essential to it; Why then must they be confounded together? When we read, Gen. ii. 7. *That the*

Lord God formed Man of the Dust of the Ground, and breathed into his Nostrils the Breath of Life, and Man became a living Soul ; Would it not be a strange Conclusion to infer from thence, that that very *Dust of the Earth* out of which his Body was formed, was that very *Breath of Life* which was breathed into him, by which he became a living Soul ? Yet would there be quite as much Reason and Truth in the one Conclusion as in the other. In the Case of Gravitation of *Matter towards Matter*, is it supposed to be an essential Quality inherent in the very Brute-Matter of which the several Orbs are composed, or is it conceived to be a Power or Direction superadded to it, by an immediate Impression communicated from God ? I assure you, Madam, there are Difficulties in either Supposition not easily surmounted. Would there be any Absurdity in supposing, that as the whole System is under the Protection, Direction, and Guidance of God's universal Providence, without which not the vilest Insect, no, nor even a Hair of our Heads, could fall to the ground ; so every particular Orb, every Branch of the System might be under the Direction of some superior Intelligence, who might be considered as the Angel, the Spirit, or Soul of that particular Orb, whose whole Province might be the Guidance and Direction of its Motions. This, I am sure, is more agreeable to the Philosophy of Scripture, and the Sentiments of that Oracle from whom Sir *Isaac* is supposed to have

have borrowed his Principles, or at least so much Light as to enable him to improve and compleat his System.

That Matter cannot move itself, that Rest or Resistance are its essential Qualities; that Motion, or the Power by which any Portion of Matter is moved, is distinct from the Matter so moved; that every kind or degree of Motion supposes a moving Power or Principle, which must be immaterial; that the Matter moved, and the Power moving, are intirely distinct, are Principles so plain and obvious as not to admit of a Debate, or a Question. Every degree of Motion, therefore, impressed upon Matter, necessarily supposes an immaterial Principle by whom the Impression is made. And notwithstanding all this, to imagine, that Creatures endued with the Powers of spontaneous Motion, Thinking, and Volition, as the Brutes are acknowledged to be, should have no spiritual or immaterial Principle in them, should be nothing but meer Matter, is to me an inconceivable Point of Philosophy. Sure I am that Mr. *Locke's* first and coolest Thoughts before he was whetted by Opposition, and warmed by Controversy, were very different from what he afterwards advanced in the Course of his Dispute with the Bishop. He seems to express himself very clearly upon this Point, *page 159. Edit. 8vo. The primary Ideas* (says he) *we have peculiar to Body as contradistinguished to Spirit, are the Cohesion of solid, and consequently separable Parts,*
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and a Power of communicating Motion by Impulse; these, I think, are the original Ideas proper and peculiar to Body; for Figure is but the Consequence of finite Extension.—The Ideas we have belonging and peculiar to Spirit, are Thinking and Will, or a Power of putting Body into motion by Thought, and which is consequent to it, Liberty. For as Body cannot but communicate its Motion by Impulse to another Body, which it meets with at rest; so the Mind can put Bodies into motion, or forbear to do so, as it pleases. Here, I think, the learned Author has expressed himself in very plain and intelligible Language. And yet this same excellent Person in his Controversy with the Bishop, falls into a quite different way of Thinking and manner of Expression: He frequently asserts, or strongly insinuates, the Possibility of Thinking Matter, and endeavours to prove it by such Mediums, as his cooler Thoughts would never have entertained, or rejected with Contempt. Hear how he reasons in his third Letter, pag. 396, 397. *Your first Argument I take to be this, that according to me, the Knowledge we have being by our Ideas, and our Idea of Matter in general, being a solid Substance, and our Idea of Body being a solid, extended, figured Substance; if I admit Matter to be capable of Thinking, I confound the Idea of Matter with the Idea of Spirit. To which I answer, No; no more than I confound the Idea of Matter with the Idea of a Horse, when I say that Matter in general is a solid*

solid extended Substance, and that an Horse is a material Animal, or an extended solid Substance with Sense and spontaneous Motion.

The Idea of Matter is an extended solid Substance; wherever there is such a Substance, there is Matter and the Essence of Matter, whatever other Qualities not contained in that Essence it shall please God to superadd to it. For example, God creates an extended solid Substance without superadding any thing else to it, and so we may consider it at rest: to some Parts he superadds Motion, but it has still the Essence of Matter: other Parts of it he frames into Plants, with all the Excellencies of Vegetation, Life, and Beauty, which is to be found in a Rose, or a Peach-tree, &c. but it is still but Matter: to other Parts he adds Sense and spontaneous Motion, and those other Properties that are to be found in an Elephant. Hitherto 'tis not doubted but the Power of God may go, and that the Properties of a Rose, a Peach, or an Elephant, superadded to Matter, change not the Properties of Matter, but Matter is in these things Matter still. But if one go one step further, and venture to say, God may give to Matter Thought, Reason, and Volition, as well as Sense and spontaneous Motion, there are Men ready presently to limit the Power of the Omnipotent Creator, and tell us he cannot do it; because it destroys the Essence, and changes the essential Properties of Matter. To make good which Assertion, they have no more to say, but that Thought and Reason are not included in the Essence of Matter.

I grant it; but whatever Excellency not contained in its Essence be superadded to Matter, it does not destroy the Essence of Matter; if it leaves it an extended solid Substance: wherever that is, there is the Essence of Matter; and if every thing of greater Perfection, superadded to such a Substance, destroys the Essence of Matter, what will become of the Essence of Matter in a Plant or an Animal, whose Properties far exceed those of a meer extended solid Substance?

But it is further urged, that we cannot conceive how Matter can think, I grant it: but to argue from thence, that God therefore cannot give to Matter a Faculty of thinking, is to say God's Omnipotency is limited to a narrow Compass, because Man's Understanding is so; and bring down God's infinite Power to the Size of our Capacities. If God can give no power to any part of Matter, but what Men can account for from the Essence of Matter in general: if all such Qualities and Properties must destroy the Essence, or change the essential Properties of Matter, which are to our Conceptions above it, and we cannot conceive to be the natural Consequences of that Essence; it is plain that the Essence of Matter is destroyed, and its essential Properties changed in most of the sensible Parts of this our System: for it is visible, that all the Planets have Revolutions about certain remote Centres, which I would have any one explain, or make conceivable by the bare Essence or natural Powers depending on the Essence of Matter in general, without something superadded to that
Essence,

Essence, which he cannot conceive; for the moving of Matter in a crooked Line, or the Attraction of Matter by Matter, is all that can be said in the case; either of which, is above our reach to derive from the Essence of Matter or Body in general; though one of these two must unavoidably be allowed to be superadded in this Instance, to the Essence of Matter in general. The Omnipotent Creator advised not with us, in the making of the World, and his Ways are not the less excellent, because they are past finding out.

In the next place, the Vegetable part of the Creation is not doubted to be wholly material; yet he that will look into it, will observe Excellencies and Operations in this part of Matter, which he will not find contained in the Essence of Matter in general; nor be able to conceive how they are produced by it, and will be therefore say, that the Essence of Matter is destroyed in them, because they have Properties and Operations not contained in the essential Properties of Matter as Matter, not explicable by the Essence of Matter in general?

Let us advance one step further, and we shall in the Animal World meet with yet greater Perfections and Properties no way explicable by the Essence of Matter in general. If the Omnipotent Creator had not superadded to the Earth, which produced the irrational Animals, Qualities far surpassing those of the dull dead Earth, out of which they were made; Life, Sense, and spontaneous Motion, nobler Qualities than were

before in it, it had still remained rude senseless Matter ; and if to the Individuals of each Species, he had not superadded a Power of Propagation, the Species had perished with those Individuals : but by these Essences or Properties of each Species, superadded to the Matter which they were made of, the Essences or Properties of Matter in general were not destroyed or changed, any more than any thing that was in the Individuals before was destroyed or changed by the Power of Generation superadded to them by the first Benediction of the Almighty.

In all such Cases the Super-inducement of greater Perfections and nobler Qualities, destroys nothing of the Essence or Perfections that were there before ; unless there can be shewed a manifest Repugnancy between them : but all the Proof offered for that, is only that we cannot conceive how Matter, without such superadded Perfections, can produce such Effects ; which is, in truth, no more than to say, Matter in general, or every part of Matter, as Matter, has them not ; but is no Reason to prove, that God, if he pleases, cannot superadd them to some parts of Matter, unless it can be proved to be a Contradiction that God should give to some Parts of Matter Qualities and Perfections which Matter in general has not ; tho' we cannot conceive how Matter is invested with them, or how it operates by virtue of these new Endowments : Nor is it to be wondered, that we cannot, whilst we limit all its Operations to those Qualities it had before, and would explain them by the known Qualities

Qualities of Matter in general, without any such superinduced Perfections. The loose Reasoning, the Jumble of Ideas, the Confusion of Sentiment, the evasive Distinctions that appear in every Sentence of this tedious Quotation, are a melancholy Proof of the Weakness of human Understanding, and the mighty Power of Prejudice, Passion and Self-love to mislead and pervert it. Nothing surely but a Love of Fame, an Impatience of Contradiction, and a Desire of Victory, could seduce so great and excellent a Person to depart from the plain and obvious Principles of Reason and Philosophy, which himself had in the clearest and strongest manner asserted and maintained. If *Inactivity or Resistance to any change of the State it is in, either of Rest or Motion*, be one of the primary and most obvious Qualities of Matter, which I presume will not be disputed: it will unavoidably follow, that every possible kind or degree of Motion, all the several Changes and Modifications that can possibly be made in any part or portion of Matter, must be derived from some immaterial and spiritual Principle, who is the Source of that moving Power by which all the possible Changes of State, or Place, can be effected. *Either there is Inactivity or Resistance in Matter, or there is not.* If there is, it cannot possibly move itself, since two Tendencies or Properties opposite and destructive to each other, can never subsist in the same Subject: If there be no Resistance, the Action of Mat-

ter upon Matter would be wholly inconceivable, or rather impossible, unless that other Matter could be moved by nothing at all ; so that in either case, Matter can never become a self-moving Substance, *no not by any Power*, because it implies a Contradiction. You see then how unreasonably Mr. *Locke* resolves the Possibility of spontaneous Motion superadded to Matter, in order to form or explain the Possibility of a material Soul or Thinking Matter, into the *Omnipotency of God, who can make all Things agree, that imply not a Contradiction* ; but this implies a glaring Contradiction, and therefore must be given up for an Impossibility. What then must we say ? What must be the Consequence ? Why it is, it must be plainly this, that since Matter is absolutely incapable of those Qualities and Operations which appear through the whole Brute-Creation, if it cannot produce *Thought, Volition, and spontaneous Motion*, we must assign some other Cause to which these Effects may properly be ascribed, which must be an immaterial and spiritual Principle, truly and properly called *a living Soul*. I know you will be well pleased to find what I have here advanced confirmed by no less an Authority than that of the late learned Dr. *Clarke*, in his *Demonstration, &c.* Part II. Page 300. Edit. 4. and Page 221. Edit. 6. *All things that are done in the World (says he) are done either immediately by God himself, or by created intelligent Beings: Matter being evidently not at*
all

all capable of any Laws or Powers whatsoever, any more than it is capable of Intelligence ; excepting only this one negative Power, that every part of it will always and necessarily continue in that State, whether of Rest or Motion, wherein it at present is ; so that all those things which we commonly say are the Effects of the natural Powers of Matter ; and Laws of Motion, as Gravitation, Attraction, or the like, are, indeed, (if we will speak strictly and properly) the Effect of God's acting upon Matter continually and every Moment, either immediately by himself, or mediately by some created intelligent Being : which Observation, by-the-by, furnishes us, as has been before noted, with an excellent natural Demonstration of Providence : consequently there is no such thing as what Men call the Course of Nature, or the Power of Nature. The Course of Nature, truly and properly speaking, is nothing else but the Will of God producing certain Effects in a continued, regular, constant, and uniform Manner : which Course or Manner of acting, being in every Moment perfectly arbitrary, is as easy to be altered at any time as to be preserved. In short, the thing speaks itself, I dare say you require no other Evidence than your own Reason suggests to you ; but your Reverence for Dr. Clarke as a Philosopher, gives you the additional Pleasure of finding him clearly on the same side of the Question.

To many a fine Lady, yea and many a fine Gentleman, I should think myself bound to make an Apology for attempting to lead them thro'

thro' so many hard Words, into such abstracted Speculations ; but to offer at any to you would be an Affront to your Understanding. You, Madam, who have improved a fine Taste by an early Acquaintance with the best Writers of our Age and Nation, who can enter into their Reasonings, and point out with a critical Delicacy, their distinguishing Beauties, which you even improve by repeating them ; you who can find a more agreeable Entertainment in the polite and rational Pleasures of the Mind, than in the fashionable Follies of Life ; who can find more Delight in the Charms of Poetry, and the severe Speculations of Philosophy, than in the insipid Chit-chat of a modern polite Conversation, will, I hope, think it no bad Compliment to your Understanding, that I submit my most laboured Thoughts to your Censure and Correction, and even glory in your Approbation.

Well, Madam, thus far I think we have pretty well cleared our way through the Intricacies of Philosophy to one certain Conclusion, *that Brutes have Souls, spiritual and immaterial Beings*. Here then let us make a stand, and take breath, let us look forward and backward, let us survey the Ground we have past, whether we have made no false Steps, mistaken our Direction, or deviated in the least from the direct Path of sound Reason and true Philosophy ; if not, what must be done next, must we sit down contented with our present Discoveries, or must we venture to proceed a
step

step further? Methinks I see your thoughtful penetrating Genius at a great difficulty; retreat you cannot, as a Philosopher:—Advance you dare not, as a good Christian.—Methinks I hear you say, or I am sure you think with a kind of religious Horrour—What then must be the Consequence!—If they are immaterial and spiritual, they must by unavoidable Consequence be immortal, which has been generally the Medium to prove the Immortality of human Souls, which has the terrible Appearance of philosophical Heresy.—Courage, Madam, never fear, we will pursue this Thought no further than we have the Light of Reason and Revelation to guide us; wherever that fails to direct us, we will be content to sit down in Ignorance and Darknes, and it must be our own fault, if we go wrong under such Direction.—It has been an invariable Rule with me, in all Cases, (Love and Politics, always excepted) never to stifle a certain Truth for fear of Consequences. Just and honest Premises are a kind of loving Things, which never fail to beget just and honest Conclusions, which being the legitimate Off-spring of virtuous Parents, and Heirs-Apparent to the sound and virtuous Constitution of their Progenitors, cannot fail to subsist upon the Integrity of the Family; therefore, e'en let them turn out, and shift for themselves.

Why, say you, will you dare to pronounce that the Souls of Brutes are immortal! No, truly, Madam, not I, but you shall pronounce
for

for your self, according to the Evidence that shall be given. Pray, what think you was their Original State and Condition in their first happy Settlement in Paradise, when all the Works of God were pronounced to be *very good*? Will you say they were mortal? Could any Creature be mortal before Death entered into the World? And was not Death the immediate, the necessary Consequence of Sin? So the Apostle tells us, *Rom. v. 12. By one Man Sin entered into the World, and Death by Sin.* And was not Sin an accidental Transgression of the Law of God, a Violation of the Laws of Truth and Order, a Breach of the Harmony of Nature? And by Consequence a Contradiction to the Will of the Creator? Now, if Death were the Consequence of Sin, the Effect of the Transgression, which we are assured of both by Reason and Revelation, is it consistent either with Philosophy or Religion, to suppose that the Effect should precede the Cause, that the Execution should anticipate the Sentence of Condemnation, and the Sentence the Transgression? In this view of the case, therefore, there seems to be a strong Presumption, that in the Intention of their Creator in their original Frame, and their Relation to the universal System, they were to be Partakers of that Blessing and Immortality which was the Privilege of the whole Creation, till Man by his Disobedience forfeited it for himself, and by consequence for them. Can any Man presume to say, that infinite Wisdom

created any thing in vain? That in the infinite Variety of Creatures; there was so much as one that was superfluous or useless? That he who proportioned and formed the whole System *in Number, Weight, and Measure*, Wisd. xi. 20. did not intend even the minutest Portion of it to be a Monument of his infinite Wisdom and Goodness, by contributing to the Beauty, the Order, and Harmony of the whole? And if the Preservation of the Species was necessary to perpetuate the Harmony of the whole; what probable or possible Reason can be assigned for the Destruction of the Individuals? I am apt to believe it will be difficult to assign any that will not as strongly conclude against the Individuals of our own Species, as of any other; and what Occasion can there be for indulging bold Conjectures, and striking out new Hypotheses, to depreciate the Wisdom, debase the Goodness, and limit the Power of the Almighty, and all this to solve Difficulties and answer Objections proceeding purely from Prejudice, and Ignorance of the divine Wisdom and Power. *The Mercies of God are over all his Works.* He made them all to be happy; as exquisitely happy as infinite Goodness, Wisdom, and Power could make them, and their Rank and State in Nature was capable of receiving; and it is not owing to any Mutability in the Counsels of God, to any Fault of their own that they have lost any degree of that Happiness they were created to enjoy, but it is the fatal and necessary

Consequence of the relation they stood in to their unhappy rebellious Lord, and the dreadful Confusion which his Disobedience has brought upon the whole visible Creation, who were thereby *made subject to Vanity*, i. e. Pain and Misery, Corruption and Death. *Rom. viii. 20.*

Do but examine your own compassionate Heart, and tell me, do you not think it a Breach of natural Justice, wantonly and without Necessity to torment, much more to take away the Life of any Creature, except for the Preservation and Happiness of our own Being ; which in our present State of Enmity and Discord is sometimes unavoidable? I know you do : And can you think that infinite Mercy, who made them to be happy, could, in the primary Intention of their Nature, resolve to deprive them of that Happiness (or at least a Possibility of recovering it again) by an utter Extinction of their Being ? If you or I could be so happy as to be able to build a House, to lay out a Garden, to contrive a Machine, to draw a Picture, to compose a Poem or a Piece of Music so exquisitely perfect that all the *Connoisseurs* in the several Arts could not be able to correct, or Envy itself to censure, I dare answer for you, as well as for my self, that we should be as ambitious to preserve ; as we were to produce them, and think it the highest Felicity to be able to perpetuate the Works of our Hands, or the Labour of our Brains, by making them immortal.

tal. To build up only in order to pull down, to produce or create in order to destroy, in short, to do and to undo, without an apparent Necessity, is a Reflection upon common Sense; and shall we, dare we, impute to infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and Power, an Infirmary, which a Man of common Sense would blush to be guilty of? Were we the Owners of Animals, in their several kinds perfectly useful, beautiful, and good, should we not be solicitous for their Preservation, much less should we wantonly destroy them? But further yet, Were we the Creators of those Animals, had we brought them into Being by the mightiest Efforts of human Benevolence, Wisdom, and Power, should we not watch over them with the most endearing Marks of Tendernefs and Affection? And can we (a Race of evil, weak, and partial Creatures,) have more Regard for our own Works, than the Almighty has for his? much less can we presume to say, that we *have more Compassion for any of his Creatures than he that made them,* 2 Esd. v. 33. And if our own Hearts assure us, that we would not wantonly torment or destroy any of God's Creatures, it will, I think, amount almost to a Demonstration, that the Father of Mercies will not causlessly destroy the Work of his own Hands, or put an end to the Being of any Creature, whom he created capable of eternal Happiness.

But I expect you will tell me, as many grave Authors of great Learning, and little Under-

standing have done before you, that there is not even the Appearance of Injustice or Cruelty in this Procedure ; that if the Brutes themselves had Power to speak, to complain, to appeal to a Court of Justice, and plead their own Cause, they could have no just Reason for Complaint : This you may say, but I know you too well to believe you think so ; but it is an Objection thrown in your way by some serious Writers upon this Subject ; they tell you, that their Existence was given them upon this very Condition, that it should be temporary and short, that after they had flutter'd, or crept, or swam, or walk'd about their respective Elements for a little Season, they should be swept away by the hand of Violence, or the Course of Nature, into an entire Extinction of Being, to make room for their Successors in the same Circle of Vanity and Corruption. But, pray, who told them so ? Where did they learn this Philosophy ? Does either Reason or Revelation give the least Countenance to such a bold Assertion ? So far from it, that it seems a direct Contradiction to both. The wise Preacher has given us a deeper and safer Foundation for our Philosophy, *Eccles. iii. 14. I know that whatsoever God doeth, it shall be for ever, nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it, and God doeth it that Men should fear before him.* And the Royal Psalmist, *Psal. civ.* where he is describing the Beauty, the Magnificence, the Wisdom of the Creation, breaks out into Raptures of Gratitude and Joy : O

Lord,

Lord (says he, ver. 24.) *how manifold are thy Works, in Wisdom hast thou made them all, the Earth is full of thy Riches.* If then all the Works of God are the Effect of infinite Wisdom, if every, even the meanest, the smallest, and most contemptible Creature, were formed, directed, and establish'd in their proper Rank and Order, by the unerring Counsel and Wisdom of the Almighty; is it not a bold Presumption to impute to that Wisdom, unworthy and contradictory Counsels? Does it not seem to imply Inconstancy and Mutability in God, that the same infinite Wisdom that made every Creature beautiful, useful, and good for certain Ends and Purposes, should destroy, or annihilate any thing that he has made, and thereby defeat the Wisdom of his own Counsels, and the Ends of his Providence? This surely must appear as shocking to Reason, as it is contradictory to Revelation. And therefore the Psalmist, *Psal. civ.* after he has described in most pompous and poetical Language, the Beauties and Glories of the Creation, particularly the Vegetable and Animal Kingdoms, seems to lament their Mortality as a Violence and Breach upon the Harmony of Nature, ver. 29. *Thou hidest thy Face, they are troubled; thou takest away their Breath, they die and return to their Dust.* But he comforts himself in the next Verse, that they are not lost, their Death is but a Change of their State and Manner of Existence: the original Purposes of God in their Creation shall stand for ever and ever; and
 whatever

whatever Changes and Revolutions they may undergo, they shall in due time appear again in their proper Place and Order, to fill the Station, and answer the several Ends intended by infinite Wisdom in their first Creation, ver. 30, *Thou shalt send forth* (for so it should be rendered) *thy Spirit, and they shall be created*, (i. e. appear again in a new Form or Manner of Existence) *and thou shalt renew the face of the Earth, the Glory of the Lord* (manifested in the Renovation of the visible World and all its Inhabitants) *shall endure for ever, and the Lord shall rejoice in his Works.* As he did in their first Creation, when he pronounced them all to be very good, when all the Powers of Heaven and Earth proclaimed aloud the Wisdom, the Goodness, and Power of their Maker, *when the Morning Stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for joy*, Job xxxviii. 7. The Evidence that appears thus strong from the Consideration of the Nature of God, the infinite Perfection of his Wisdom, and the Immutability of his Counsels, will appear yet stronger from considering the Nature and Condition, the Capacities and Powers of the Creatures themselves: As they are all endu'd with Life and Motion, Sense and Perception, and many of them, perhaps, with equal, if not quicker and more delicate Sensations in their Sphere of Action, than many of us in ours, and these freely bestowed upon them by the overflowing Goodness of their Maker; if they were intended not only to fill the several Ranks and Orders
they

they stand in, in the universal Scale of Beings, and compleat the Harmony of the Universe, but also to have their Share in the general Blessing, and such a degree and portion of Happiness as they were capable of enjoying : Will any one say, it would be no Punishment to them to be totally deprived of that Happiness, and even of a Possibility of recovering it, by an arbitrary and entire Extinction of their Being ? You and I should certainly think so, if we were to do or suffer the same ; and we may, by more than a Parity of Reason, be afraid to ascribe to Almighty Goodness and Wisdom, what appears a Weakness and Cruelty in our selves. Tell me not that God may do this by an arbitrary Act of his Will, and be no more partial or unjust in striking them out of the List of Beings, than in bringing them into it, that he may resume a Grant that he had freely given them ; and who shall presume *to stop his Hand, or limit his Power, and say, What doest thou ?* This is arguing from the Principles of human Weakness and Ignorance, the Counsels of God are not *arbitrary* in the human Sense of that Word, but founded on the immutable Principles of infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and Truth, and therefore *without Variableness or Shadow of changing*, Jam. i. 17. His Counsels, like his Nature, are *the same to-day, yesterday, and forever*. Heb. xiii. 8.

It would be the highest Presumption to pretend to limit the Power of the Almighty ;
yet

yet all agree in this, that Omnipotence itself can do nothing that implies a Contradiction; but is it not a manifest Contradiction to infinite Wisdom, to make and unmake, to create and to destroy? The same infinite Wisdom and Power that brought them into Being, must of necessity (pardon the Expression) preserve them in it, unless we could suppose that he, who from Eternity saw through all the Possibilities of Being, in whom every part of the Creation *lives, and moves, and has its Being*; should see a Reason for creating at one time, and destroying at another, the Works of his own Hands.—I might push this Argument yet further, and perhaps be able to produce something more than Conjecture and Probability, that the very Notion of *Annihilation* is absurd and unphilosophical, contradictory and impossible; but as this would be leading you into a too tedious and abstruse Speculation, I shall content myself, and hope I have, in some measure, satisfied you, with what has been already said upon this Subject.

The great Mr. *Locke*, in his Controversy with the Bishop of *Worcester*, Page 148. makes a kind of Objection to what has been here advanced, that has more the Air of a Sneer than an Argument. *But here I take liberty to observe, that if your Lordship allows Brutes to have Sensation, it will follow either that God can and does give to some portions of Matter a Power of Perception and Thinking; and that all Animals have immaterial, and consequently, according to*

to your Lordship, immortal Souls, as well as Men. And to say that Fleas and Mites, &c. have immortal Souls as well as Men, will possibly be look'd on as going a great way to serve an Hypothesis. Many Writers since his time have improved this Thought, in order to expose and ridicule the Immateriality of the Soul, by mentioning *the Eels in Vinegar*, the numberless Nations, which to the naked Eye appear as the *Blue of a Plumb*, but are discovered by the Microscope, to be the proper Inhabitants of that particular Orb or Sphere; but let them try the utmost Strength of these Objections, and see what it will prove, but the Ignorance and Presumption of those that make it. Is it not a more surprizing Instance of the Almighty Power of God, to form so wonderful, so beautiful a Piece of Mechanism in one of these minute Animals, than in that of an Ox or a Horse, a Whale or an Elephant? What less than infinite Wisdom and Power, could form a little Portion of Matter, too small to be viewed by the naked Eye, into that almost infinite Variety of Parts, that are necessary to form an organical Body? Do but consider, how inexpressibly fine, slender, and delicate, must the several Parts be, that are necessary to form the Organs, to proportion the Structure, to direct the Machinery, and preserve and supply the vital and animal Action in one of these imperceptible Animals; yet every part that is necessary to Animal Life, is as truly found in one of them, as in

Behemoth and *Leviathan*. I very much doubt whether any Wisdom but that which framed them, can fully comprehend the Structure, the Symmetry, the Beauties of this almost imperceptible Generation, and think it must needs exceed any finite Understanding to conceive, much less to explain, how such an infinite Variety of Parts, and Exercise of Powers, could be contained or exerted within so narrow a Space : First, the *Heart*, the Fountain of Life ; then *the Muscles* necessary to produce Motion ; *the Glands* for the Secretion of Juices ; the *Ventricle* and Intestines for digesting their Nourishment, and numberless other Parts which are necessary to form an organical Body. This Knowledge is too wonderful and excellent for any human Understanding, and it may reasonably be doubted, whether the Angels themselves are able to explain and comprehend it. But when we further consider, that each of those Members are themselves also organical Bodies, that they consist of Fibres, Membranes, Coats, Veins, Arteries, Nerves, and numberless Springs, Tubes, and Pullies, too fine for Imagination itself to conceive, try in the next place whether you can form the least Appearance, even of a Guess, how infinitely subtle and fine must the parts of those Fluids be, that circulate thro' these Tubes, as the Blood, the Lympha, and animal Spirits, which in the largest Animals are so exquisitely fine, that no Imagination can explain or conceive. Can any Wisdom, any Power, less than infinite, produce,

or

or explain such wonderful Effects and Appearances as these ? *Infinite Wisdom* is as truly and wonderfully displayed in the smallest, as in the greatest Works of the Creation; and nothing less than the same Wisdom that formed the universal System, could possibly produce the smallest and most contemptible Being in nature. I say then, *that all these Effects of infinite Wisdom were intended to answer some end, to serve some purpose, or they were not: they contributed something to the Beauty and Harmony of the whole, or they did not: they were either useful and necessary in their several Ranks and Orders, or superfluous and useless.* Take which side of the *Dilemma* you please, and see what Consequences will unavoidably follow. If you say they were made for some end, to answer some purpose, that they contributed to the Beauty and Harmony of the whole, it will necessarily follow, that they do so still, unless you will venture to say, that the System is alter'd, that what was once necessary is not so now; which would be an absurd and blasphemous Imputation upon *infinite Wisdom*. It will therefore follow, that whatever Uses or Purposes were intended in their Creation, can only be supplied and answered by still preserving them in being. If they were created by *infinite Wisdom*, the same *infinite Wisdom* will also preserve them: if you doubt or deny this, you must unavoidably fall into the other side of the *Dilemma*, and say that they were not the Effects of *infinite Wisdom*,

dom, that they were not made to serve any end, or answer any purpose, that they contributed nothing to the Beauty and Harmony of the System, that many of them are not only useless and unnecessary, but noxious and mischievous, and had better either not have been created at all, or immediately struck out of the List of Beings, to prevent their doing more Mischief: in short, that they were a sort of By-blows, Excrescencies, or fortuitous Productions, with which *infinite Wisdom* had no manner of Concern, either in their Formation or Preservation. Does not such a Thought as this strike you with a kind of religious Horror? Is not the Blasphemy as shocking to your Piety, as the Nonsense to your Understanding? Yet one of these must be maintained to support the other side of the Question. I will therefore venture to conclude, that whatsoever Creatures *infinite Wisdom* saw fit to produce in the first Creation, will be preserved by the same *infinite Wisdom* so long as the System itself shall continue, which is as certain a Conclusion, as that the Parts shall continue as long as the Whole, the Materials shall subsist as long as the Fabrick; and this not only with regard to the Species, but to all the Individuals of the several Species, which, as Religion and Philosophy assure us, were actually existing in their first Cause or Parent, when the divine Benediction, to increase and multiply, was pronounced upon them, and they were declared by God himself to be

very good. Whatever Arguments have or may be produced in Vindication of the Wisdom and Goodness of God in the Works of the Creation, will (I humbly conceive) more strongly conclude for their Immortality: and if so much as the Shadow of a Reason can be alledged for their Annihilation or utter Extinction of their Being after Death, it will as strongly conclude against the Wisdom of their first Creation. And whether such a Concession might not have a fatal Influence upon weak and irreligious Minds, deserves well to be consider'd, whether they might not from hence be induced to believe or to hope, at least, that they might receive the same Indulgence as the rest of their Fellow-Brutes; and be no more accountable for the Sins of a long Life, the Abuse of nobler Faculties, the Defiance of the highest Authority, the Contempt of the plainest Duties, and a Violation of the most reasonable Commands, than the poor Brutes, who have no Sin to answer for, and would never have known either Pain or Sorrow, Suffering or Death, had our first Parents but continued as innocent as they: What then should hinder their Continuance in being after the Dissolution of their Bodies? Why may not the immaterial Form be disposed of in its proper State, waiting for the *Time of the Restitution of all things*, Acts iii. 21. When the whole suffering Creation shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God, Rom. viii. 21. The wise

Preacher

Preacher seems to have express'd his Thoughts very plainly upon this Question, *Eccl. iii. 21.* where he mentions *the Spirit of a Man, and the Spirit of a Beast*, however different in their specifick Dignity and Qualities, yet both equally immaterial and immortal, both returning, after the Dissolution of their Bodies, to their proper State or Centre : *The Spirit of the Man going upwards, and the Spirit of the Beast going downward*; that is, the former ascending, the other descending to their proper Rank or Sphere in the invisible World.—And after all, where is the Difficulty of comprehending, or the Danger of asserting this proper Assortment of the several Species of Beings, according to their original State in the Order of Creation? What need is there of so much philosophical Refinement and Caution in explaining so obvious a Question? What possible Danger can there be in asserting a Truth too plain to be denied, or what Purposes of Religion can be served in concealing or disguising a certain Truth, in order to establish an uncertain, I had almost said an impossible Conjecture? Tell me ingenuously, Madam, can you hesitate a Moment how to determine upon this Question? Some learned Men have started a Difficulty, how these separate Essences, or Brute-Souls, are to be disposed of after Death. Thus, particularly, the pious, learned, and Right Reverend Author of *The Procedure, Extent, and Limits of Human Understanding*, expresses his Doubts and Fears, Page

173, 174. They who hold sensitive Perception in Brutes to be an Argument of the Immateriality of their Souls, find themselves under a Necessity of allowing those Souls to be naturally immortal likewise, and they are so embarrassed how to dispose of those irrational immortal Souls after the Dissolution of their Bodies, and what sort of Immortality to conceive for them, that they imagine them all to return to the great Soul or Spirit of the World, or by a Metempsychosis to pass into the Bodies of succeeding Animals, and then when they have done their Work at the end of the World, they are to be discharged out of Being, and again reduced to their primitive nothing.—Again—If those Souls are once granted to be immaterial, it is utterly inconceivable that they should not naturally have the same Immortality with those that are human; since we cannot with any Sense or Consistency distinguish two different kinds of Immortality for created Spirits, if the Souls of Brutes be immortal, that cannot when separate be thought to remain altogether in a State of Inactivity or Insensibility, which communicated Sense and Activity to Matter, while in conjunction with it; and if so, they must be sensible of Happiness or Misery, and in some degree liable to Rewards and Punishments as eternal as their Souls. He concludes, What heightens the Absurdity of this way of Thinking, is, that in imagining the Souls of Brutes to be immaterial, Men must necessarily distinguish a great Variety of them, both in Nature and Degree, one sort for Birds, another for Beasts, and

and another for Fishes ; and these must be all subdivided again into very different Species of immaterial Souls, according to the different sorts there are under each of these general Heads. Nay, every Fly and Insect must on this Supposition have some sort of immaterial Soul, even down to the Cheese-mites ; and what is yet more absurd, is, that there must be an infinite Variety of Immaterialities imagined, to suit the Rank and Condition of every individual, living, sensible Creature. What a Rhapsody is here ! Can there be a more lively Picture of a puzzled Imagination, terrified with Spectres, and combating with Difficulties of its own creating ? If the Premises be just, the Conclusion must be so too, they must stand or fall together : If the Evidence be strong for the Immateriality of Brute-Souls, as I believe you think it is, their Immortality must, in my Opinion, be the natural Consequence : And how are we concerned to enquire what shall become of them in their separate State ? What is it to us to know how they shall be disposed of after the Dissolution of their Bodies ? Cannot infinite Power, which formed them without our Advice and Assistance, dispose of them in the same manner ? This, I think, is certain, that if they are immaterial, and consequently immortal, if their Souls animated certain Bodies in this Life, and were the proper Principles of their Action, they cannot cease to be active after they are in a separate State, and must have a peculiar Sphere of Life and Action

without their Bodies, as well as they had on them. Can you, Madam, conceive what would have become of the numerous Descendants of the several Species of Beings, (whose peculiar Blessing from God was to *increase and multiply*) if *Adam* had not sinned, nor by consequence Sin and Death entered into the World? Can we suppose that he who made them to increase and multiply, had not made a proper Provision for their Reception? And will not (think you) the same Wisdom and Power continue the same Provision for them still? Can any Man pretend to tell me what is the State of separate Souls? Where, or what, or how many are the different Mansions and Receptacles of the Dead? These are idle Enquiries, unanswerable Questions, yet does any reasonable Man doubt whether there are such Mansions, such proper Habitations for separate Spirits, and if for one Rank of Beings, why not for all? And is it not a monstrous Presumption in us, *who are ignorant of the plainest things, and can hardly judge aright of the commonest things that are upon earth, and find not without great labour the things that are before us*, Wisd. ix. 16. to be prescribing Bounds to omnipotent Wisdom, directing the Exercise of infinite Power, by our narrow Apprehensions of the Nature of things, and the Power of God? His Objection against the *same Immortality* allotted to different Species of Beings, is very crudely and obscurely expressed. *Immortality*, or a Perpetuity of Ex-

istence in its abstracted Nature, to whatever different Ranks or Species of Beings it is applied, must be one and *the same*, however different their State and Condition may be. As for the *Brute-Souls* being sensible of Happiness or Misery in their separate State, Why not? as well as in their present natural State? If they are capable of Happiness or Misery here, if they are the Objects of divine as well as human Compassion in their present State, (which both Reason and Revelation plainly evince) what should hinder their being capable of higher degrees of Happiness in their separate State in the invisible World, as well as they were in their first Situation in Paradise, before Sin and Death entered into the World, and they sunk with us under the *Bondage of Corruption*? But to say (as our Author does) that it will thence follow they are *liable to Rewards and Punishments*, requires both Proof and Explanation. They were not moral Agents, nor is their present Unhappiness the proper Punishment of any abuse of their Free-will, the Violation of any Duty, the Transgression of any Command, or Disobedience to the Will of their Maker. This the Apostle expressly declares, *Rom. viii. 20.* That *they were made subject to Vanity, not willingly, not by any Fault of their own, but by reason of him, upon the Account, by the Transgression of Man, who has subjected them to it in hope*; that is, in certain hope of being delivered from a Misery they had not deserved, from a Bondage which

which they had not brought upon themselves, but were necessarily involved in it by the relation they stood in to our first Parent, who was their natural Lord, the Sovereign and Governour of the whole Mundane System. And why does he say it heightens the Absurdity of this way of Thinking, that we shall be obliged to distinguish a great Variety of Souls, both in Nature and Degree, for the great Variety of Beings? Why is it a greater Absurdity to suppose different Species of immaterial Souls, than different Species of material Bodies? If (as the Apostle reasons, 1 Cor. xv. 39.) *All Flesh is not the same Flesh, but there is one kind of Flesh of Men, another Flesh of Beasts, another of Fishes, and another of Birds*: Where would be the Absurdity of thinking or saying, all Souls, or Spirits, or immaterial Beings are not specifically the same, but there is one kind of Soul of Men, another kind of Beasts, another of Fishes, another of Birds, and another of Insects, and perhaps another of the various Tribes and Families of each? It is at least highly probable that it is so, and the Appearance of Absurdity arises from nothing else but our Ignorance of the Ways of God, and his mysterious Operations in the Frame and Course of Nature, and a vain Presumption that we are competent Judges of both. This it is, that tempts us to prescribe Limits, and direct the Exercise of infinite Power; this tempts us to form Hypotheses, and lay Schemes for the Operations of Omnipotence, and charge

every Deviation from it as absurd and unreasonable. And by the same Method of Reasoning, we might, (if Experience did not convince us) as wisely infer that the almost infinite Variety of material Bodies were absurd and impossible. And after all this Appearance of Absurdity, it is more than probable that this great Variety of *immaterial Souls both in Nature and Degree for Insects, Fishes, Birds, and Beasts*, ought to be regarded as a singular Article in the Harmony and Beauty of the Creation, in the rising Scale of immaterial Beings. When we observe such a wonderful Gradation of Beauty, Form, Perfection and Proportion, in the several Parts of Matter, through the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms, through all the Species of Fossils, Plants, and Animals, up to the human Body, it must appear to a rational and attentive Mind, to be a wide and unnatural Chasm in the Nature of things, if there were nothing between dead Matter and the human Soul. Let us not then embarrass ourselves with Doubts and Enquiries about the Purposes and Counsels of infinite Wisdom, in the Creation of such a wonderful and beautiful Variety of Animals, thro' all the several Regions of Nature; but satisfy ourselves, that as nothing less than infinite Power could produce the least and most contemptible into Being, so nothing less than infinite Wisdom has formed and directed them to answer the several Purposes of their Creation, and fill their different Ranks and States in the

Scale

Scale of Being, and that the same infinite Wisdom will not fail to dispose of them hereafter in the most proper Manner, to answer the original Purposes of their Creation. Thus much we may venture to pronounce with safety, that it is by no means inconsistent with Reason, that there may be several Degrees and Orders of immaterial Beings, with different Powers and Faculties, according to their different Ends: And that such of these as are capable of actuating Bodies, may be disposed of in different Bodies, according to their different Capacities: and when the immaterial Beings are separated from these Bodies, so that the Bodies are dead, no Man can presume to say that it is impossible or unreasonable, for omnipotent Wisdom to continue them in being, and dispose of them in such a State or Condition as he shall see fit. And if partial human Benevolence, if limited human Understanding, could conceive any possible Reason, or contrive any possible Means to continue their Being, and their Happiness in a State of Separation, then it is neither an absurd Thought, nor impious Hope, that their Almighty and most Merciful Creator, whose Compassions are over all his Works, may effect both, since nothing less than both could at first move him to bring them into Being, and such a State as the Harmony of Nature required, and infinite Wisdom saw fit for them.

And now, Madam, I appeal to you and to every sensible impartial Reader, to tell me
what

what possible ill Consequences can be drawn from the Supposition of their Immortality ; or what possible Advantage to the Interests of true Philosophy and Religion can arise from denying it? The Infidel will be pleased to hear you own the Possibility of a material Soul of thinking Matter, and comfort himself with the hope that he with the rest of his reasoning Fellow-Animals may be exactly of the same make, have nothing in them superiour to Matter, no Principle of Immortality, nothing capable of eternal Rewards and Punishments; tho' he himself would easily turn the Tables upon you, and prove the contrary from the plainest Principles of Nature and Philosophy. On the other hand, if we could prove to his Satisfaction, that every kind and degree of Life through the universal System must necessarily be immortal, it would prove strongly upon him the necessity of his own Immortality, and quite destroy the feeble, the terrible Hope of Annihilation, or utter Extinction of his Being ; it would shew him in a strong and amazing Light, the absolute Impossibility of evading the proper and necessary Punishment of a wicked and ungodly Life, the unavoidable Consequences of brutish and vicious Habits, debasing the Soul, degrading it from its proper Rank and Dignity, corrupting all its Faculties, and rendering it incapable of those divine Communications which are the proper Life, the only real Felicity of human Souls. But to return,

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The wonderful Gradation in the Scale of Beings (so far as our Senses can discover it) is not only the Object of daily Experience and Admiration, but is also a noble Key to open to us the more remote and invisible Scenes of Nature and Providence, and to raise upon the Foundation of a just and proper Analogy, a rational Superstructure little inferiour in Evidence and Strength to a Mathematical Demonstration. As we observe in all Parts of the Creation, that there is a gradual Connection of one with another, without any great or discernible Gaps between, that in all that great Variety of Things we see in the World, they are all so closely linked together, that it is not easy to discover the Bounds between them; we have all the reason imaginable to believe, that by such gentle Steps, and imperceptible Degrees, Beings ascend in the universal System from the lowest to the highest Point of Perfection. Where is he that can settle the Boundaries of the material and spiritual World? Who can tell where the sensible and rational begin, and where the insensible and irrational end? Who can precisely determine the lowest Species of Animals, and the first and highest Degree of inanimate Beings? The whole System of natural Beings, so far as we can observe, lessen and augment in the same Proportion, as the Quantity does in a regular Cone, where though there be a manifest difference betwixt the bigness of the Diameter at remote Distances, yet the difference betwixt the

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the upper and under, where they touch each other, is hardly discernable: The Difference betwixt Man and Man is inconceivably great. Were we to compare a *Newton*, a *Locke*, or a *Boyle*, with that sort of human Creatures commonly distinguish'd by the Name and Title of *honest, or very honest Fellows*, who have very little besides their Shape and Risibility (or Faculty of laughing, which some Philosophers make to be the formal Difference betwixt rational and irrational Animals) to distinguish them from Brutes, we should be almost tempted to think them of a different Species: but were we to compare the Understandings, the Tempers, the Abilities of some Men and some Brutes, we shall find so little Difference, that it would be hard to say to which we should give the preference. The Brute in the Sty, the Stable or the Kennel, and the Brute in the Parlour, are very often distinguished to the advantage of the former, as the more harmless, the more useful, the more virtuous Animals of the two. Nor has the Difference in point of Understanding been much less considerable. Now as the *Rule of Analogy* makes it more than probable, that in the ascending part of the Scale there are numberless Ranks and Orders of intelligent Beings, excelling us in several degrees of Perfection, ascending upwards towards the infinite Perfection of the Creator, by gentle Steps and Differences, that are hardly at a discernable distance from each other: so in the descending Part, there are doubtless num-

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berleſs Ranks and Orders of Being endued with
 lower Faculties, lower Degrees of Life and Per-
 ception, till you come down by imperceptible
 degrees to the Vegetables, and inanimate
 Brute-Matter; but what are the ſpecifick
 Differences that diſtinguiſh theſe ſeveral Ranks
 and Degrees of Being, is not eaſy to conceive.
 The Scale of Life, like the Continuation of all
 Motion, the Undulation of Waves, the Vi-
 bration of Sounds, and the Progreſſion of
 Light, are performed by certain inſeparable,
 tho' diſtinct and decreaſing Communications
 and Impreſſions from one part of Matter to
 another, each of them proportionably dimi-
 niſhing, till you come at laſt to a State of ab-
 ſolute Inaction and Reſt: but what is the pre-
 ciſe and abſolute Boundary, betwixt languid
 Motion, and abſolute Reſt, what created Un-
 derſtanding can explain or comprehend?
 Who can fix the direct Point where the laſt
 dying Sound expires in dead Silence? Who
 can diſcern where the laſt glimmering Ray of
 Light is ſwallowed up in total Darkneſs and
 Obſcurity? Who can determine the Limits
 betwixt the Ebb and Flowing of the Tide, or
 deſcribe the ſingle Point which is the ending
 of the one, and the beginning of the other?
 Nor are the Boundaries betwixt the Human
 and Brute Underſtanding more eaſily diſtin-
 guiſhed. Who can determine the loweſt De-
 gree of human Ignorance, and the higheſt
 Pitch of brutal Knowledge; who can ſay
 where the one ends, and the other begins, or

whether there be any other Difference betwixt them but in degree.

Mr. *Locke* in his 27th Chapter, of *Identity and Diversity*, has, in the Course of his Argument, dropt something so much to our present Purpose, and so apparently contradictory to what he has advanced in other parts of his Theory, that I cannot help transcribing it. Page 284. Edit. 8vo. *I think I may be confident, that whoever should see a Creature of his own Shape, tho' it had no more Reason, as to its Life, than a Cat, or a Parrot, would call him still a Man; or whosoever should hear a Cat or a Parrot discourse, reason, and philosophize, would call or think it, nothing but a Cat or a Parrot; and say, the one was a dull, irrational Man, and the other a very intelligent rational Parrot. A Relation we have in an Author of great Note (meaning Sir William Temple's Memoirs) I had a mind to know from Prince Maurice's own Mouth the Account of a common but much credited Story, that I had heard so often from many others, of an old Parrot he had in Brasil, during his Government there, that spoke, and asked, and answered common Questions like a reasonable Creature; so that those of his Train there generally concluded it to be Witchery or Possession; and one of his Chaplains who lived long afterwards in Holland, would never from that time endure a Parrot, but said they all had a Devil in them. I had heard many Particulars of this Story, and assevered by People hard to be discredited; which*
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made me ask Prince Maurice what there was in it. He said, with his usual Plainness and Dryness of Talk, that there was something true, but a great deal false of what had been reported. I desired to know of him what there was of the first? He told me short and coldly, that he had heard of such an old Parrot, when he came to Brasil; and tho' he believed nothing of it, and 'twas a good way off, he had the Curiosity to send for it; that it was a very great and a very old one; and when it came first into the Room where the Prince was with a great many Dutchmen about him, it said presently, *What a Company of White-men are here!* They asked it what he thought that Man was, pointing at the Prince? It answered, *Some General or other.* When they brought it close to him he asked it, *† D'ou venez vous?* It answered, *de Marinnan.* The Prince; *A qui estes vous?* The Parrot, *A un Portugese.* The Prince, *Qui fais tu là?* The Parrot, *Je garde les Poules.* The Prince laughed and said, *Vous gardes les Poules?* The Parrot answered, *Ouy, Moy, et je sçay bien faire,* and made the Chuck four or five times that People use to make to Chickens when they call them. I set down the Words of this worthy Dialogue in French just as Prince Maurice said them to me. I ask'd him in what Language the Parrot spake? And he said in Brasilian. I asked him

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† Whence come you? From Marinnan. Prince. To whom do you belong? The Parrot. To a Portugese. Prince. What do you do there? Parrot. I look after the Chickens. Prince. You look after the Chicken? Parrot. Yes, I know how to do it very well.

whether he understood Brazilian? He said, No, but he had taken care to have two Interpreters by him; the one a Dutchman who spoke Brazilian, and the other a Brazilian that spoke Dutch; that he ask'd them separately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him just the same thing that the Parrot said. I could not but tell this odd Story, because it is so much out of the way, and from the first hand, and what may pass for a good one; for I dare say, the Prince at least believed himself in all he told me, having ever passed for a very honest and pious Man. I leave it to Naturalists to reason, and to other Men to believe as they please upon it.

The Use Mr. Locke makes of this surprizing Story, is of a very particular Nature, and I must needs say, not without Violence applied to his purpose. Hear his own Remark. The Prince, 'tis plain, who vouches this Story, and our Author who relates it from him, both of them call this Talker a Parrot; and I ask any one else, who thinks such a Story fit to be told; whether if this Parrot, and all of its kind, had always talked, as we have a Prince's Word for it, this one did; whether, I say, they would not have passed for a Race of *rational Animals*? So far, the Question is properly stated, and may be easily answered. Without doubt they would. But, he proceeds to ask further, Whether for all that they would have been allowed to be Men, and not Parrots? Why so? Unless it were thought absurd or impious to ascribe any kind or degree of Reason

son to Brutes ; which is so far from being the case, that I humbly conceive, there is at least a strong Probability of the contrary. And this Story, so well attested, is no contemptible Evidence in our favour. Supposing, therefore, this to be the case, the Question I would ask should be this : Does not this Parrot discover as evident Tokens at least of Reason and Understanding as many of our own Species, who are allowed to be reasonable Creatures, and to make a tolerable Appearance in the gay World ? Is there any discernible Difference betwixt the Conversation of this Bird, and many a sad unlucky Bird, who fancies himself a very pretty Fellow, and, perhaps, a very fine Gentleman ? Let us, if you please, Madam, enter a little further into the Comparison. The Parrot, in so short a Conversation, could discover but few Ideas, necessarily involved in the Questions he was obliged to answer ; but those few seem to be clear, distinct, and regularly adjusted ; and if we may be allowed to judge by this Specimen, he might have a larger and better Stock of intellectual Materials to employ upon proper Occasions. *First of all*, It is plain, he could distinguish Colours, and the Difference betwixt his sooty Countrymen, and the white Attendants of the Prince. *Secondly*, He could distinguish Men from any other Species of Animals, by his calling the Prince's Attendants *White-men*. *Thirdly*, He had Geography enough to distinguish one Place from another, and to tell the Prince, that he came from *Marrin*.

rinnan. *Fourthly*, He understood the abstracted Nature of Property, and the relation he bore to the *Portuguese* Owner or Master to whom he belonged. *Fifthly*, He could infer that that Relation implied some sort of Service to be performed on his part, which was the Care of the Chicken. *Sixthly*, He discovered that he understood the Nature of his Office, and how to execute it in a proper manner, by making the Signals which the Mother used to make to her young Family, to warn them to fly from any imminent Danger, and put themselves under her Protection. It seems to appear from hence, that this sensible, honest, faithful Servant had as much Knowledge as was sufficient to qualify him for the Post that was assigned him, of which he gave full Proof in his Examination by the Prince. You will tell me, perhaps, this was no Proof of his Understanding; it might probably be a Lesson which he had learn'd by Rote: But, pray, Madam, is not the Probability as strong on the other side? especially as you find, that the first Speech was the effect of immediate Reflection without any leading Question to introduce it, and the rest were a Sequel of proper Answers to the several Questions that were proposed by the Prince. But you may further reply, that as he had so few Ideas to work with, it would require a very moderate degree of Understanding, to be able to adjust them properly, and apply them justly upon proper Occasions. True——But the being
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able to do it at all, even in the lowest degree, is confessing the Point that I am labouring to prove, and answers every Objection that has been made against it.—Well, then, supposing this poor individual Bird at the head of his Species, compounding and comparing Ideas, forming Conclusions, reasoning, and answering Questions, we may, according to Mr. *Locke's* own Concession, allow him to be a *Rational Parrot* ; and may reasonably infer that the other Individuals of the same Species, are capable of similar, if not equal Improvements, and by consequence have a proportionable Title to the Character of rational Creatures : On the other hand, if a slender Stock of Ideas, a Slowness of Apprehension, a Poverty of Genius, and Narrowness of Understanding, be a sufficient Reason for striking them out of the Rank of rational Beings, I quite dread the Consequence, and almost tremble to think what terrible Havock it must make in the human Species. How many honest, merry, pretty Fellows must instantly resign their Pretensions to Humanity, be turned to Grass, or degraded into the lowest Rank of Vegetables ! Could you steal into poor *Sylvio's* Pericranium, and there deface the Ideas of his Dogs, his Horses, his Bottle, and (I am sorry to add) his Mistress, you would leave an absolute Void, an entire Blank as could be found in the whole Creation. *Ned Courtly*, who values himself so much upon his Knowledge of the World, is not one jot richer than he ; the whole

whole Furniture of his Memory, (the only Faculty he has to find Employment for his Tongue) was stolen from the Drawing-Room, the Opera, and the Assembly ; and if it were possible for him to return his intellectual Trumpery to the place from whence he stole it, he would immediately be upon the Level with the Wasps and Butterflies. I have at this time in my eye a Group of solemn Blockheads, who have the Vanity to call themselves *Freethinkers*, without being able to explain the Character they insolently claim, nor the Title by which they pretend to claim it. I wish I had a proper Authority to confine them all together in one Room, with a decent Allowance of Pen, Ink, and Paper, debarring them the use of two or three Libertine Books, two or three Cant-words, and two or three Common-place Jokes, upon Parsons, Priest-craft, and Superstition ; and I would defy their united Misunderstandings in six Weeks time to produce six Quarto Pages upon any Question in Philosophy or Religion, written (I do not say with Argument or Grammar, for that would be an unreasonable Imposition) but even with true Spelling and common Sense. Could you by any means restrain the arch, the witty, the eloquent *Clarinda* from her favourite Topicks of Dress and Scandal, you would infinitely oblige all her Acquaintance, by condemning her to perpetual Silence.

Now, I would venture to say, that the Partition betwixt the lowest Degree of Human,
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and the highest Degree of Brute-Understanding, is so very slender, that it is hardly perceptible, and could not in any degree be distinguish'd but by a greater Fluency of Language; which, tho' in the main it may be considered as an Advantage to our Species in general, yet is it none to those who seldom make any other Use made of it, than to discover the Emptiness of their Heads, the Perverseness of their Wills, or the Iniquity of their Hearts, and shew how little the real Difference is (Shape only excepted) betwixt a sagacious, good-natur'd, governable, useful Animal, which we agree to call a Brute; and a wrong-headed, vicious, ungovernable, mischievous Brute, whom we agree to call a Man; and what Authority we have to strike out of the System of Immortality so great a part of the Creation, without an absolute and evident Necessity, exceeds my Comprehension. If both Reason and Revelation assure us, that in their first Creation they were all *very good*: as perfect in their several Kinds, as beautiful in their several Orders, as necessary to the universal Harmony, as infinite Power and Wisdom could make them; if by the special Benediction of their Maker they were to increase and multiply, and perpetuate their several Species, before Sin and Death entered into the World; how dare we pretend to reverse this Blessing, to correct infinite Wisdom, to alter the establish'd Order of Things, and pronounce a Sentence of utter Extinction upon numberless Ranks and

Orders of Beings, created by infinite Wisdom, to manifest the Power and Goodness of their Maker, by ministering to the Pleasure and Necessities of Mankind, and contributing in their proper Order to the Beauty and Harmony of the universal System; Is not this pronouncing a Curse where God has pronounced a Blessing? and in effect declaring that infinite Wisdom and Power were idly employed in forming, supporting, feeding, and blessing numberless Species, Tribes, and Families of useless and unnecessary Beings? Is it not more reasonable, more consistent with the Nature of God, and the Scripture-Account of the Creation, to suppose that the immaterial Forms, the incorruptible Essences of the whole System, notwithstanding its present ruinous and deplorable Appearance under the Bondage of Corruption and Death, are immoveably fix'd in their proper Rank and Order in the invisible World, according to the eternal Archetypal Model in the Divine Mind, in and by which, as their efficient and exemplary Cause, every Being in Heaven and Earth, from the most exalted Seraph to the lowest Vegetable, was made, in which they now subsist, and shall for ever subsist, in a glorious Immortality?

The Absurdities that flow from the contrary Opinion, are a strong presumptive Proof in favour of ours. That all Creatures were the Productions of infinite Goodness, Wisdom, and Power, and could therefore be only created in order to be as perfectly happy as their Rank
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and State in Nature could admit ; is as certain as that an infinitely wise, and good, and powerful Being, could not possibly make any Creature only with an Intention to make them miserable ; and yet we see at present the whole Face of Nature covered, as it were, with Darkness, Confusion, and Deformity, a Scene of Sin and Folly, of Misery and Sorrow, sinking, as it were, under its own Weight, and groaning under the Bondage of Corruption : And dare we say, or imagine, that this was the original primitive State of things ? Could Disorder and Confusion, Vanity and Misery, proceed from the omnipotent Fountain of Order, Truth, and Love ? Must we not rather say, that we are in a præternatural State, that the Evils we suffer are accidental, the fatal Consequence of the Transgression of our first Parents, seduced by the Temptation of an evil Spirit, to a Violation of all the Laws of Justice, Truth, and Order ? And can we imagine that this violent, this unnatural State shall last for ever ? Is the State of the whole Creation so deplorably miserable, as to admit of no Remedy, no Hope of Deliverance ? Shall the eternal Purposes of infinite Wisdom, Love, and Power be intirely defeated by the Malice of evil Spirits, and the Infirmities of frail Creatures ? Is not this imputing too much to the Creature, and derogating from the infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and Power of the Creator ? Is not this saying in effect, that the Almighty Creator, the Father of Mercies, and the God

of all Compassions, whose Mercies are over all his Works, is either unwilling, or unable, to effect the eternal Purposes of his infinite Love? that the Devil is more powerful to destroy, than God to save? And after all, what difficulty is there in comprehending, or what possible Danger in asserting, that all the inferiour Creation, that fell with and in our first Parent, and suffer for our Transgression, shall at last be restored to their primitive Happiness, and *be delivered from their present Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God?* And why (as St. Paul says to King Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 8.) *should it be thought a thing incredible, that God should do this, especially as Reason and Nature pronounce such a Renovation, not only possible but probable, and Revelation declares it to be certain?* As for the wondrous Works of the Lord (saith the wise Son of Sirach, xviii. 6.) *there may nothing be taken from them, neither may any thing be put unto them, neither can the ground of them be found out.* Nothing can be added to their original Perfection, nor shall any thing be able to destroy it, neither can any human Understanding comprehend their essential Ground and Root in the Archetypal World, in which (notwithstanding any Violence or accidental Disorder in their present external Form) they stand immoveably fix'd in their proper Rank and Order, in and through which they shall in God's due time be restored to the Splendor and Dignity of their first Creation.

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And this, Madam, opens to us a new Scene of Wonder and Love, worthy the most serious Attention of a rational and religious Mind, That there shall be an *universal Restitution* of all that fell by *Adam's Transgression*; when all that was lost in *the first Adam* shall be renewed in *the second*: that there shall be *new Heavens* and a *new Earth*, which shall be the Habitation of Righteousness. God has plainly and abundantly *promised by the Mouth of all his holy Prophets since the World began*, Acts iii. 19, 20, 21. *If*. lxx. 17. lxxvi. 22. 2 Pet. iii. 13. 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22. Rev. xxi. 1. And if the whole material World shall be restored to its primitive Perfection; if there shall be a *Renovation of the face of the Earth*. Psal. civ. 30. there must be of consequence a Renovation of all its seminal Powers, of all the various Productions of Fruits, Flowers, Animals, and all the different Inhabitants of the several Regions of Nature. All the Discord of Elements, all the Malignity of the Creatures shall intirely cease and be done away. All Nature shall put off the Corruption, Deformity, Darkeness, and Confusion of their present State, and be restored to the Purity, Splendor, and Beauty of their first Creation. I suppose you will reply, and say, as many eminent Writers have done before you, that all those Passages of Scripture which speak of an intire Renovation and *Restitution of all things, of new Heavens and a new Earth*, are not to be understood literally, that they are only metaphorical

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cal Expressions to represent the mighty Change that was to be introduced into the moral World by the preaching of the Gospel; that the prophetick Style, and Oriental Languages abounded with bold Metaphors, which could not possibly be understood in a literal Sense, as when not only Birds and Beasts, but even the vegetable and inanimate Parts of the Creation are called upon to bless and praise their Maker, and to rejoice in his Mercy, of which we have many Instances in the Book of *Psalms*, and the Prophecies of the *Old Testament*. Thus particularly, *Pf. cxlvi. we find Mountains and all Hills, fruitful Trees, and all Cedars; Beasts, and all Cattle, Worms, and feather'd Fowls*, are called upon to join with the grand Chorus of Men and Angels, of all the Powers of Heaven and Earth, in the Praises of their Almighty Creator. And *Es. lv. 12. The Mountains and the Hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the Trees of the Field shall clap their Hands.* So *Pf. civ. 21. The young Lions roaring after their Prey*, are represented in the form of Supplicants *seeking their Meat from God*. So again, *Pf. cxlvii. 9.* the Cry of the young Ravens is represented as calling upon God for their daily Bread, *He feedeth the young Ravens that call upon him.* That these Expressions are properly metaphorical, is easily granted; but that they are justly and properly founded in the real Nature of things, cannot be denied, or may be easily proved.—Let it be granted, that all those pompous Ideas, and magnifi-

cent Descriptions which the Scriptures give us of the Redemption of the World, and Renovation of Nature, have a primary and immediate Regard to the human Nature, which cannot be denied ; yet that it does not, and cannot terminate there so as to exclude the other parts of the Creation, is, from the Analogy of Reason, equally certain. When we consider that the whole System of Nature were Partakers of the original Happiness, were included in the universal Benediction, that every part of the animal and vegetable World, according to their several Capacities, received through our first Parent such divine Communications of Life and Light, and Glory, as were necessary to compleat their Happiness, which intirely depended upon his unsinning Obedience ; that by his Transgression he forfeited for them as well as for himself the Favour of his Maker, and the original Happiness of their State and Condition, from which they fell into their present lamentable State of Mortality and Corruption, it is natural to conceive, that as the whole animal Creation sympathizes and suffers with their sinful unhappy Lord and Master ; so they shall with him, in due time, recover their lost Happiness, and return to their primitive Perfection ; that the Redemption and Glorification of one, must necessarily be the Redemption and Glorification of the other ; that as they, as well as we, fell in and by the Transgression of the first *Adam*, so they, as well as we, shall be restored by the meritorious Obedience

dience and powerful Intercession of the second, which the Royal Psalmist plainly declares, *Pſ. xxxvi. 6. Thou, Lord, ſhalt ſave both Man and Beoſt.* And by parity of Reason we may conclude, that the vegetable, as well as animal Creation, ſhall have their proportionable Degrees of the ſame Bleſſing, and be Partakers of the ſame Glory ; ſo that all the original Bleſſings implanted in the vegetable World at the firſt Creation, ſhall be reſtored again : When all the Fruits and Flowers of Paradife, which were created to adminiſter Nouriſhment and Pleaſure to the Paradifical Bodies of our unſallen happy Parents, ſhall recover their original Tincture, Life, and Spirit, to be the ſpiritual Food and Nouriſhment of the renewed human Nature. This our bleſſed Lord plainly tells us, *Mat. xxvi. 29.* when at the Celebration of his laſt Supper, he aſſures his Diſciples, *that he would thenceforth drink no more of the Fruit of the Vine, until that Day when he ſhould drink it new with them in his Father's Kingdom.*

The Certainty of this grand Event, the Reſtitution of this whole viſible World to its original Perfection, is plainly and fully attested by *St. Paul, Rom. viii. 19, 20, 21, 22.* *The earneſt Expectation of the Creature waiteth for the Manifeſtation of the Sons of God. For the Creature was made ſubject to Vanity, not willingly, but by reaſon of him who hath ſubjected the ſame in Hope ; becauſe the Creature itſelf alſo ſhall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, into*
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the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God ; for we know that the whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together, until now. The great Point on which the true Interpretation of this Passage depends, is to find out the true Meaning of the word *Creature*, in what Sense the Apostle uses it in this place. Most of our modern Commentators have gone violently out of the way in quest of any Meaning but the true one. The pious and learned Dr. *Hammond* understands by it *the Gentile World*, in opposition to the *Jews*, whom he supposes to be meant by the *Sons of God*, and by this false Key has entangled and perplex'd, instead of opening and explaining this glorious Prophecy. The late learned Dr. *Whitby* justly censures this Interpretation, and has advanced another equally absurd and contradictory. He understands by it *the whole Race of Mankind*, but seems himself to be sensible he was in the wrong, by shuffling over several Expressions, which, if duly consider'd, would have shewn him his Mistake, and led him into a more consistent Scheme of Interpretation. However, after he had sufficiently puzzled himself and his Readers with aiming at something like a Meaning, he attempts to give you from Quotations out of two of the primitive Fathers, what he calls *the ancient and almost primitive Exposition of these Words*. After which, he modestly subjoins his own Judgment : *I differ only from the Fathers in this Interpretation*

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terpretation as to this single Circumstance, that I do not extend this Desire of the Redemption of the Body from Corruption to brute Beasts, and insensate Creatures, but only to Mankind in general subjct by Adam's Fall to Mortality; p. 45. Now I must needs say, it would have been but modest and reasonable in the Doctor, after having entered his Protest, to have given us his Reasons for dissenting from *this almost primitive Exposition*. And I believe it would be very hard to produce any Reason against their future Restoration, which would not conclude as strongly against their first Creation. If infinite Wisdom and Goodness saw fit to produce such numberless Ranks and Orders of Creatures, to compleat the Harmony of the universal System, and to share with Man in the Blessings and Glories of Paradise, before Sin and Death entered into the World; is it not highly reasonable to imagine, that they are preserved by the same infinite Wisdom and Goodness to be Sharers in the Happiness and Glory of the new World, when Sin and Sorrow shall cease, when Corruption and Mortality shall be no more, and *Death itself shall be swallowed up in Victory?*

There is one Expression in ver. 22. which seems plainly to determine what we are to understand by *the Creature*, and may be justly considered as an infallible Key to the Apostle's whole Meaning; and that is, *that the whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together*

together till now. Now, it is plain, at first sight, that the *whole Creation, which groaneth and travaileth in pain, is that very Creature that waiteth for the Manifestation of the Sons of God; that very Creature that shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God.* Whatever part of the Creation, therefore, suffers under any shape or degree of Imperfection, Misery, Corruption, and Mortality; may be justly considered as *groaning and travailing in pain*, and by consequence as Candidates for Redemption and Immortality. Now, as it is plain, that no one part of the Creation is exempted from *the Bondage of Corruption*; so it seems equally plain, that no one part shall be excluded from the *Universal Deliverance*, and that the Redemption from the Curse, must be as universal as the Curse itself; so that whatever suffers by the Fall, shall be restored at last *into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God.* And this may help us to an easy Explanation of an Expression, that cannot otherwise be easily reconciled to the ordinary Forms of Speech. The Passage is *Mark xvi. 15.* where the Apostles are commanded *to preach the Gospel to every Creature*; from whence some of the Legendary Writers of the Church of *Rome* have justified the Preachments of their Saints to the Birds, Beasts, and Fishes, and thereby given the Precept a ridiculous Turn, and furnished occasion of Mirth and Derision to Infidels and

Fools: But in this View it appears capable of a plain and natural Meaning. *Go ye forth into all the World, and preach a joyful Message of Redemption to the whole Creation.* And I must needs say, it has often puzzled me to think, why the same Expression in the Original should be thus differently rendered in *English*, so as to be called *every Creature* in one place, and *the whole Creation* in another; which, tho' really and truly the same thing; yet have a quite different manner of Appearance in the different manner of Expression, but on my Principles easily reconciled.— Accordingly I shall endeavour to give you a plain and natural Paraphrase of this famous Passage in the Epistle to the *Romans*, ch. viii. ver. 19, 20, 21, 22. without troubling you with critical Remarks upon the Original, or Authorities from the Ancients, both which concur to establish the Truth for which I am contending.— “ The Struggles and Distresses of every part of the visible Creation
 “ are strong Indications of a universal Degeneracy and Curse, from which they seem
 “ to labour and sigh for Deliverance, and
 “ which they shall certainly obtain at the glorious Appearance of their great Redeemer,
 “ who shall come in the Glory of his Father,
 “ and of his holy Angels, and all his Saints
 “ with him, to triumph over Sin and Death,
 “ to repair the Ruins of fallen Nature, and
 “ establish the Kingdom of God upon this
 “ very

“ very Earth, in which his Will shall be done
 “ as it is in Heaven. For the Vanity and
 “ Misery under which they now groan, was
 “ not the effect of any voluntary Guilt or
 “ Transgression of their own, but was brought
 “ upon them by the Transgression of our
 “ first Parents, but under a sure and certain
 “ Hope of Redemption, by the all-sufficient
 “ Merits and Intercession of our Lord Jesus
 “ Christ, who is their Saviour as well as ours ;
 “ when he shall have accomplish’d the Num-
 “ ber of his Elect, and begun to establish his
 “ Kingdom : Then shall the whole visible
 “ Creation that fell under the Curse by the Sin
 “ of Man, be restored with the human Na-
 “ ture, and with and through him be Parta-
 “ kers of the Blessings and Glories of the
 “ Kingdom of God. At present we see the
 “ whole Creation subject to Vanity and Death,
 “ from which, like a Woman in Travail, it
 “ labours to be delivered, but has not Strength
 “ to bring forth, nor can hope for Deliverance
 “ till that happy Day when the great Redem-
 “ er shall restore whatever has been decayed,
 “ shall create new Heavens and a new Earth,
 “ where Sin and Death can have no place,
 “ where Evil cannot enter, but God shall be
 “ All-in-All.”

That the Brute-Creation are particularly in-
 terested in this great Event, is plainly and
 fully attested by many remarkable Prophe-
 cies of the *Old Testament*. Thus, *Ez.* xi. 6, 7,

8, 9.

8, 9. speaking of the peaceful and glorious Reign of the Messiah, illustrates it in a particular manner; by the Harmony that shall be restored thro' the whole animal Creation. *The Wolf also shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard shall lie down with the Kid, and the Calf and the young Lion and the Fatling together; and a little Child shall lead them. And the Cow and the Bear shall feed, their Young-ones shall lie down together, and the Lion shall eat straw like the Ox. And the sucking Child shall play on the Hole of the Asp; and the weaned Child shall put his Hand on the Cockatrice Den: They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy Mountain: for the Earth shall be full of the Knowledge of the Lord, as the Waters cover the Sea.* So again, Ch. lxxv. 25. *The Wolf and the Lamb shall feed together, and the Lion shall eat Straw like the Bullock, and Dust shall be the Serpent's Meat; they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy Mountain, saith the Lord.* The Prophet Hosea foretels the same thing, Ch. ii. 18. *In that day will I make a Covenant for them with the Beasts of the Field, and with the Fowls of Heaven, and with the Creeping Things of the Ground; who shall lose their Malignity, which was employed to scourge and punish their rebellious Lord; all the Enmity of the Creatures shall cease; the divided Properties, the discordant Motions of the Elements shall be intirely swallowed up in universal Harmony, Peace, and Love. And the Glory of the Lord shall endure*
for

for ever : the Lord shall rejoice in his Works. Ps.
civ. 31.

Pardon me, Madam : The Nature of my Subject has insensibly drawn me into a greater Length, more serious Enquiries, and graver Conclusions, than I at first intended ; for which an indifferent Reader would expect an Apology, and which, to any body but yourself, I should think myself obliged to offer : But your inquisitive Genius, your rational Head, and benevolent Heart, I trust, will easily excuse, if you cannot intirely approve a well-meant Attempt to vindicate the Wisdom of Providence in the Works of the Creation, and rescue so great a part of God's Creatures from the rude Censures of weak and ignorant Pretenders to Philosophy. If I have, in any degree, done justice to my Subject, if I have given you any Light and Satisfaction in this momentous Question, your Approbation will give me a Pleasure equal to the Regard I have for your Person, and the Esteem I have for your Judgment : But, if the worst I fear should happen, should you think I have undertaken a defenceless Cause, or betrayed it by an injudicious Management ; should you even tell me, I have mistaken the State of the Question, or offered any thing weak or inconclusive in defence of it, even there I should humbly hope for your Indulgence, that the Honesty of my Heart may atone for the Weakness of my
Head ;

Head; the Goodness of my Intention, for the Defects of my Understanding: for whatever Cause I may have given you to condemn my Sentiments, or despise my Judgment, I shall never give you any to suspect my Sincerity, when I profess myself, with the highest Esteem and Regard,

Madam,

Ripon, Your Faithful and Obedient

Nov. 24,

1742.

Humble Servant.

F I N I S.

[illegible]

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Bougeant

A philosophical amusement
upon the language of beasts
and birds

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